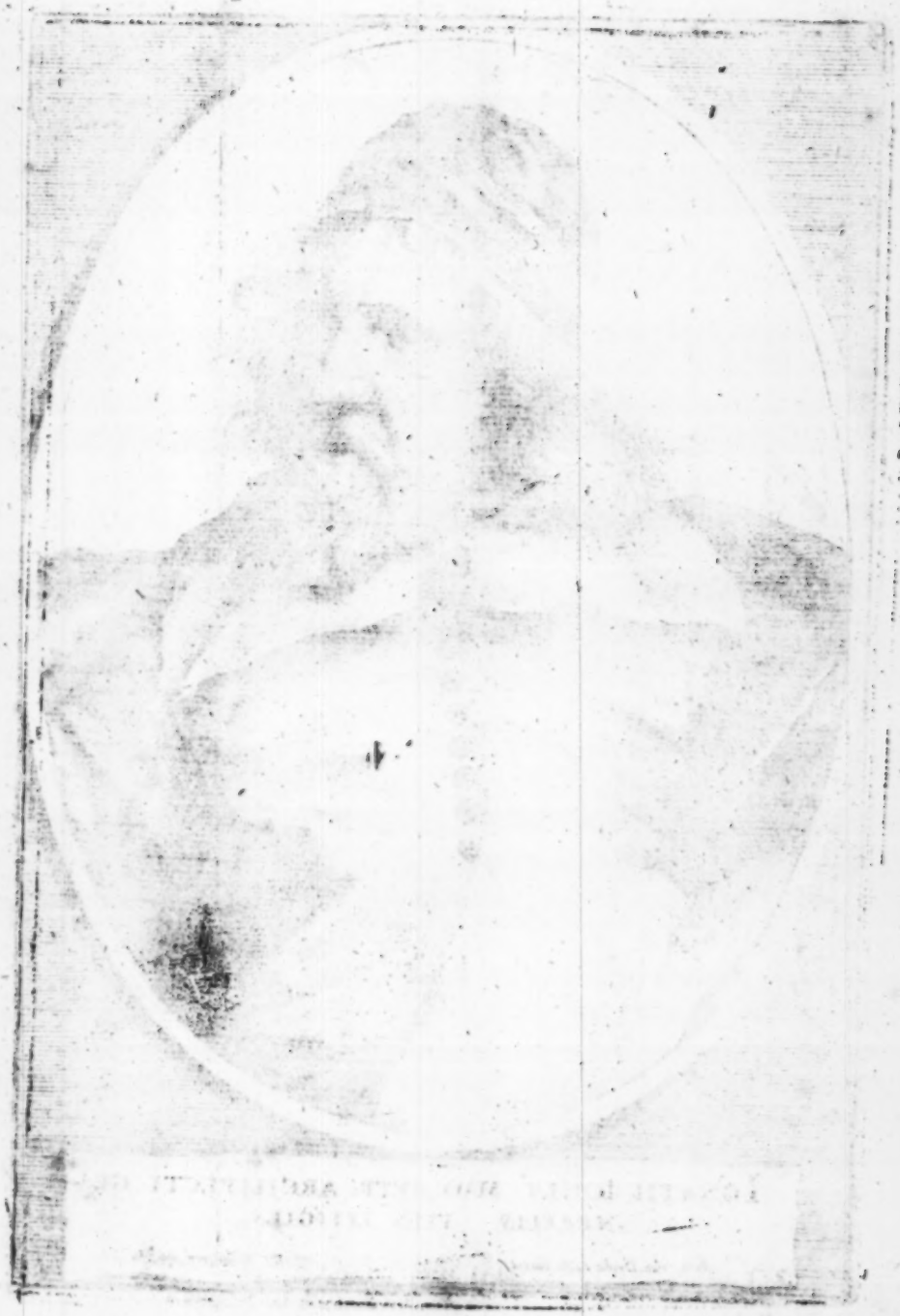


IGNATII IONES MAG. BRIT. ARCHITECTI GENERALIS, VERA EFFIGIES,

Anth. van Dyck Eques pinxit. W. Hollar fecit, aqua fortis.

THE

most notable

ANTIQUITY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

vulgarly called

STONE-HENG

ON

SALISBURY PLAIN.

RESTORED

By *INIGO JONES* Esquire,

Architect Generall to the late

KING.

LONDON,

Printed by *James Flesher* for *Daniel Pakeman* at the sign of the *Rainbow* in *Fleetstreet*, and *Laurence Chapman* next door to the Fountain Tavern in the *Strand*. 1655.

TO

The Right Honourable

PHILIP

Earle of *Pembroke* and *Montgomerie*,

Baron *Herbert* of *Caerdiff* and *Sherland*,

Lord *Parr* and *Roſſe* of *Kendall*, Lo: *Fitzhugh*

Marmyon and Saint *Quintin* &c.

STONE-HENG reſtored

is

humbly dedicated

by

Your Lo^ps devoted ſervant

John Webb.

TO

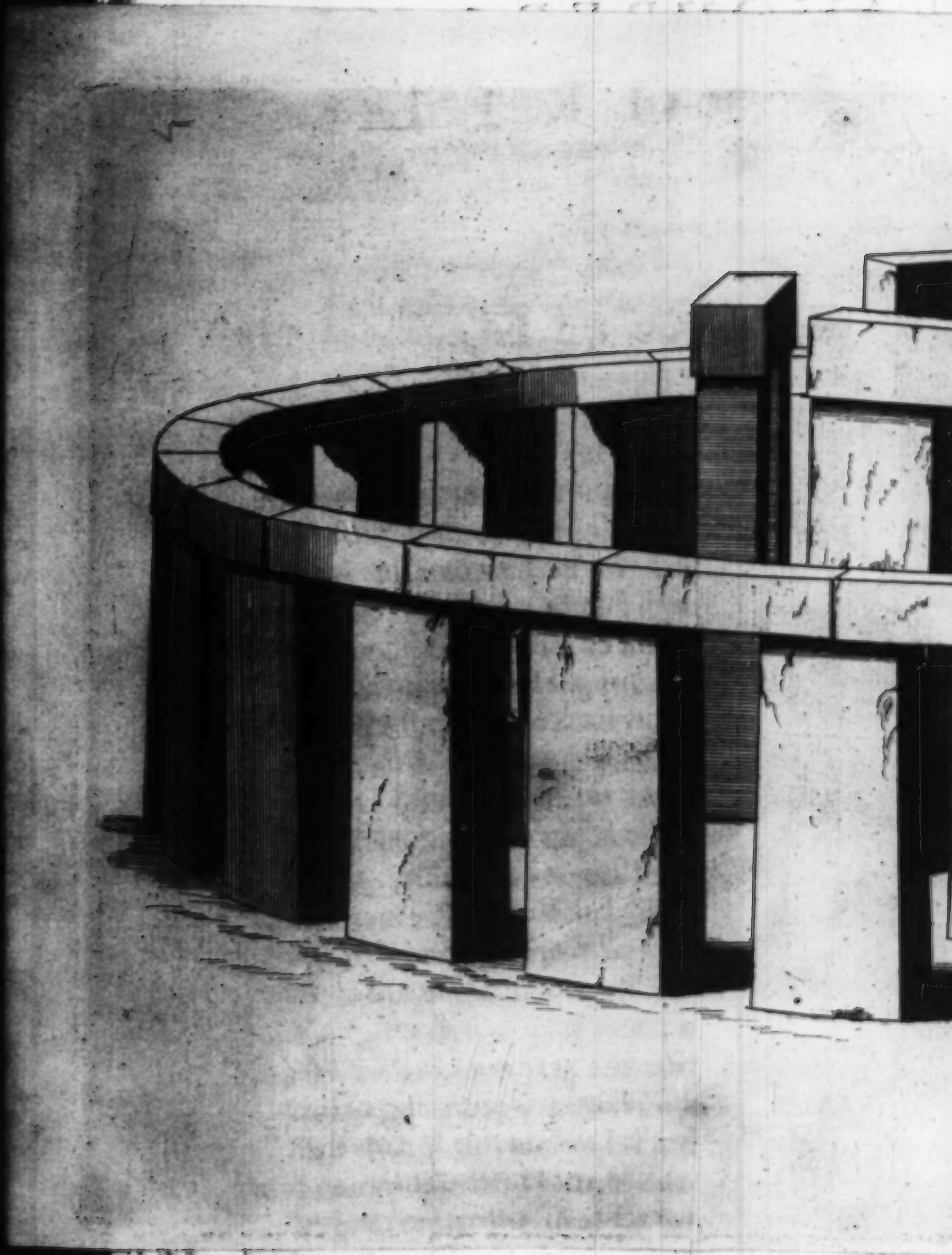
THE FAVOURERS

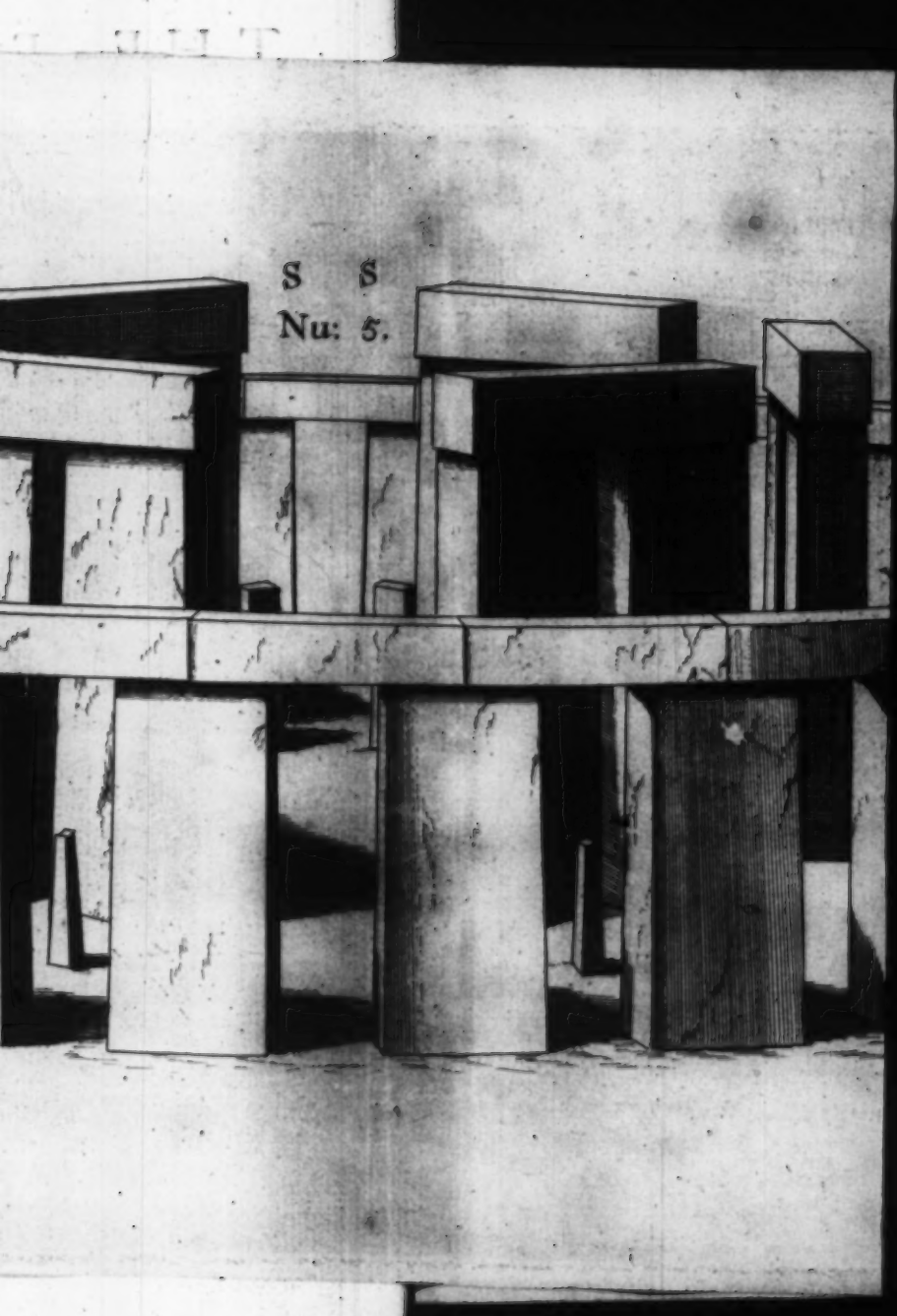
OF

ANTIQUITY.

THis Diſcourſe of *Stone-heng* is moulded off, and caſt into a rude Form, from ſome few indigeſted notes of the late judicious *Architect*, the *Vitruvius* of his age *Inigo Jones*. That ſo venerable an *Antiquity* might not periſh, but the world made beholding to him for reſtoring it to light, the deſires of ſeverall his learned *Friends* have encouraged me to compoſe this Treatiſe. Had he ſurvived to have done it with his own hand, there had needed no Apology. Such as it is, I make now yours. Accept it in *his name*, from

J. W.

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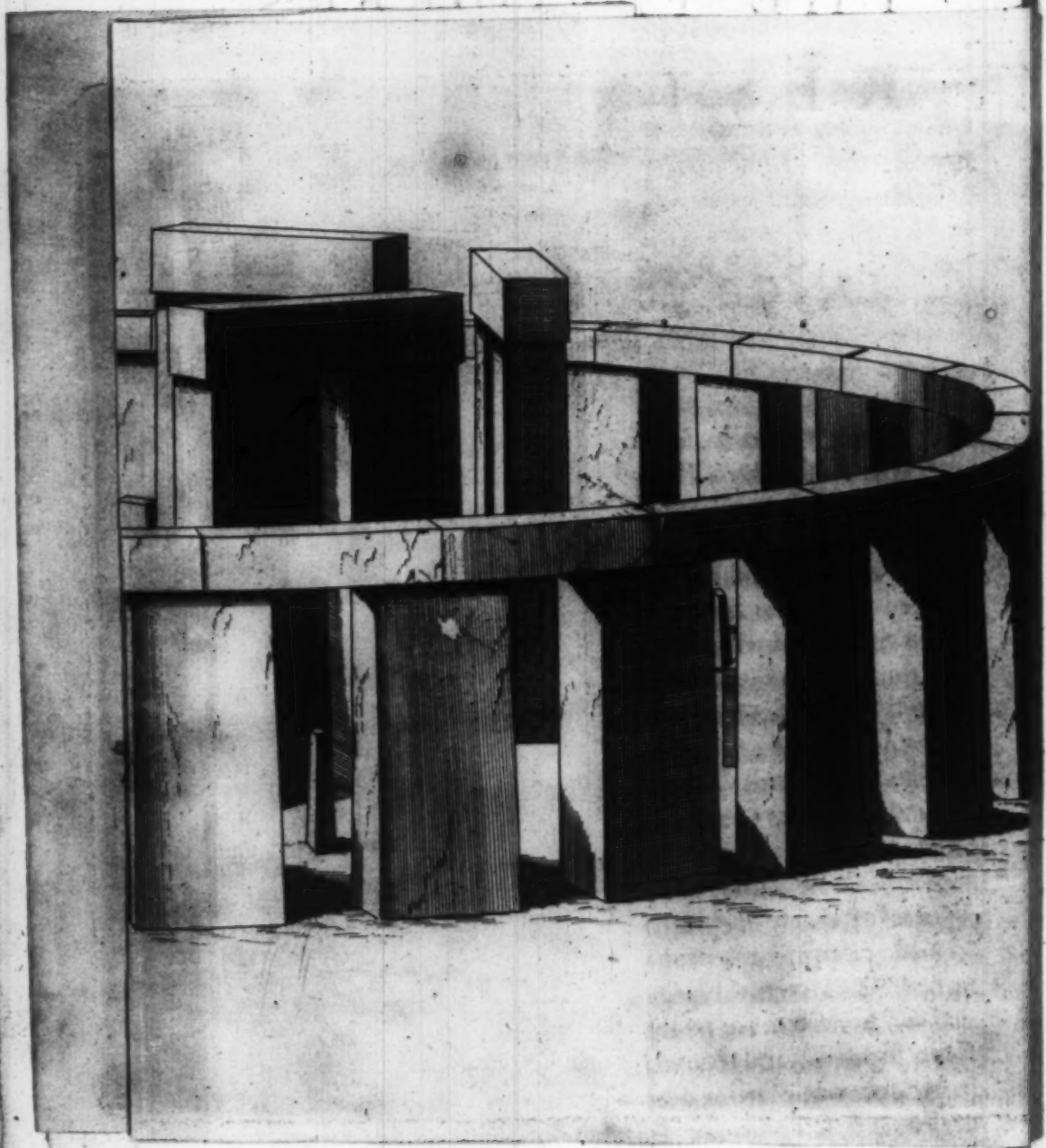


STONEHENG RESTORED,

BY

INIGO JONES Eſquire.

BEing naturally inclined in my younger years to ſtudy the *Arts of Deſigne*, I paſſed into forrain parts to converſe with the great Maſters thereof in *Italy*; where I applied my ſelf to ſearch out the ruines of thoſe ancient *Buildings*, which in deſpight of *Time* it ſelf, and violence of *Barbarians* are yet remaining. Having ſatisfied my ſelf in theſe, and returning to my native *Countrey*, I applied my minde more particularly to the ſtudy of *Architecture*. Among the ancient monuments whereof, found here, I deemed none more worthy the ſearching after, then this of *Stoneheng*; not only in regard of the *Founders* thereof, the *Time* when built, the *Work* it ſelf, but alſo for the rarity of its *Invention*, being different in *Forme* from all I had ſeen before: likewiſe, of as beautifull *Proportions*, as elegant in *Order*, and as ſtately in *Aſpect*, as any.

King *James*, in his progreſſe, the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty, being at *Wilton*, and diſcourſing of this *Antiquity*, I was ſent for by the right Honourable *William* then *Earl of Pembrook*, and received there his Majeſties commands to produce out of mine own practiſe in *Architecture*, and experience in *Antiquities* abroad, what poſsibly I could diſcover

concerning this of *Stoneheng*. What mine opinion was then, and what I have ſince collected in relation thereunto; I intend to make the ſubject of this preſent Treatiſe. And certainly, in the intricate, and obſcure ſtudy of *Antiquity* it is far eaſier (as *Camden* very well obſerves) to refute and contradict a falſe, then to ſet down a true and certain reſolution. For mine own part, in what I ſhall here deliver, I intend not to ſtruggle againſt any opinion commonly, and long ſince received. Let every man judge as it pleaſeth him. What opinion ſoever the Reader inclines to, I ſhall not make much materiall, my aime being, a deſire only to vindicate, as much as in me lies, the *Founders* of this venerable *Antiquity* from oblivion, and to make the truth, as far forth as poſsibly I may, appeare to all men.

Severall Writers, both Strangers, and our own Countreymen, have treated of *Stoneheng*. Before recite whoſe opinions, I think not amiſſe to ſeek this ſubject from the moſt ancient times, endevouring thereby to give ſatisfaction whether or no, the *Druides, alias Druidæ* (in Authors indifferently written, and in old time the *Prieſts* of the *Britans* and *Gauls*) or the ancient *Britans*, for the *Druid's* uſe, might not be the *Founders* of ſo notable a monument; which if they were, there is then no cauſe why beſtow farther ſtudy or pains, in ſeatching who the *Founders* were, but acquieſce in the honour of our own Nations firſt erection of it.

As far nevertheleſſe, as from Hiſtory ancient or moderne may be gathered, there is little likelyhood of any ſuch matter, conſidering eſpecially what the *Druid's* were; alſo, what ſmall experience the *Britans*, anciently inhabiting this Iſle, had, in knowledge of what ever *Arts*, much leſſe of building, with like elegancy and proportion, ſuch goodly works as *Stoneheng*.

Concerning the *Druid's* in the firſt place, true it is, they are reported in ancient times, to have been in great eſteeme in this Iſland, where their diſcipline, and manner of learning, was ſuppoſed to be firſt invented, and from hence tranſlated into *Gaul*. *Diſciplina in Britannia reperta* (ſaith *Cæſar*)

Cæſar. Commen. lib. 6.

atque

atque inde in Galliam tranſlata eſſe exiſtimatur. They are ſaid in like manner to have ordered and diſpoſed all divine matters, as well in relation to their ſeverall kinds of Sacrifices, as to expounding whatever rites of their idolatrous ſuperſtition; inſomuch, you may call them (if you pleaſe) the Biſhops and Clergy of that Age. *Plin. lib.16.*

Their power moreover, and preheminence was not confined within the ſtrict limits of ſacred matters, but enjoying a more large prerogative, temporall negotiations, and affairs of State were tranſacted by them: the managing of Peace and War was uſually remitted to their Authority, even when Armies were ready to joyn in Battell. *Publica iis* (ſaith *Strabo*) *& privata judicia committuntur, & aliquando cauſis bellorum diſceptandis jam acie congreſſuros compoſuerunt.* Judges they were (ſaith *Cæſar* alſo) in almoſt all civill and criminall cauſes: ſentence they gave in caſe of life and death: decide they did controverſies, and debates betwixt party and party: finally, whatever elſe was requiſite and convenient to keep the people in due obedience to their *Princes*, they wholly took the care and charge of. *Strab. lib.4.* *Cæſar.lib.6.*

Theſe were the maine affaires wherein the employment of the *Druides* conſiſted, and whereunto they wholly addicted themſelves. Whoſoever deſires to know more of them, may read *Cæſar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Diogenes Laertius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and ſuch like ancient Authors. But, whatſoever theſe, or other Hiſtorians have written of the *Druides*, certainly, *Stoneheng* could not be builded by them, in regard, I find no mention, they were at any time either ſtudious in *Architecture*, (which in this ſubject is chiefly to be reſpected) or skilfull in any thing elſe conducing thereunto. For, *Academies* of *Deſigne* were unknown unto them: publique Lectures in the *Mathematiques* not read amongſt them: nothing of their *Painting*, not one word of their *Sculpture* is to be found, or ſcarce of any Science (*Philoſophy* and *Aſtronomy* excepted) proper to informe the judgement of an *Architect*; who, (as *Vitruvius* ſaith) ſhould be *peritus Graphidos, eruditus Geometria, & Optices non* *Vitr. li.1.*

ignarus &c. perfect in Deſigne, expert in Geometry, well ſeen in the Opticks, skilfull in Arithmetick, a good Hiſtorian, a diligent hearer of Philoſophers, well experienc'd in Phyſick, Muſick, Law and Aſtrologie.

Of all that have written of the *Druid's*, no Author knew them better then *Cæſar*, neither hath any more fully deſcribed them; who after a large diſcourſe of their diſcipline, priviledges, and *Theologie*, *Multa de ſideribus* (ſaith he) *atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, &c. diſputant, & juventuti tranſdunt. They make much diſpute, and inſtruct their Scholars in many things concerning the Stars, and their motion, the greatneſſe of Heaven and Earth, of the nature of things &c.* As for other Arts relating to the *Mathematiques*, or any works of this kind, he makes no manner of mention, though himſelf an *Architect*, glorying in his own, and much more extolling others invention in that *Art*.

Cæſar. li. 6.

The truth is, thoſe ancient times had no knowledge of publique works, either Sacred or Secular, for their own uſe, or honour of their *Deities*. Beſides, they uſ'd not any buildings of Stone, or (for ought is manifeſt) knew ſo much, as how to order working therein. The *Druid's* led a ſolitary contemplative life, contenting themſelves with ſuch habitations, as either meer neceſſity invented, to ſhelter them from contrariety of ſeaſons, without *Art*, without *Order*, without any whatever means tending to perpetuity: or, ſuch as *Nature* alone had prepared for them in dens, and caves of deſert and darkſome woods; eſteeming it, queſtionleſſe, the higheſt ſecret of their myſtery, rather to command in caves and cottages, then live like Kings, in Palaces, or ſtately houſes. They were too wiſe, knew too well, 'twas their humility, integrity, retired manner of life, and pretended ſanctity poſſeſt the people with an awfully reverend eſteem of them; and which fed, and kept up their reputation throughout the Countrey, when outward appearances of State and magnificence would either have brought them into envy, and their ſuperſtition into contempt, or them-

themſelves and *Religion* both to be wholly extirpated and laid aſide.

Pomponius Mela diſcourſing of the *Druides*, *Docent multa* (ſaith he) *nobiliſſimos gentis clam & diu vicenis annis in ſpecu, aut in abditis ſaltibus*, *They teach the Nobility, and better ſort of their nation, many things, even twenty years together, ſecretly in caves, or cloſe coverts of obſcure woods and forreſts.* Such, and no other were their habitations, ſuch their Univerſities, and publique Schooles. *Pomp. Mela lib.3.*

As for their *Temples* and ſacred ſtructures, they conſiſted not in variety of formes, coſtlineſſe of materials, or perfection of humane *Arts*, but were of *Natures* own framing in like manner, being no other then groves of Oke. *The* Druid's *choſe of purpoſe* (ſaith *Pliny*) *ſuch groves for their divine Service, as ſtood only upon Okes; nay they ſolemnized no Sacrifice, nor performed any ſacred Ceremonies without the branches, and leaves thereof; from whence they may ſeem well enough to be named* Dryadæ *in* Greek, *which ſignifies as much as* Oke Prieſts. *Pliny lib.16.*

The *Romans* having forced their paſſage, and gained victory over the *Druid's* in *Angleſey*, cut down their woods and groves, amongſt them reckoned holy, and conſecrated to their execrable ſuperſtitions. *Exciſi luci* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *ſævis ſuperſtitionibus ſacri.* *Tacit. Ann. lib.14.*

To this purpoſe, *Humphrey Lloid*, in his hiſtory of *Wales*, The vaſt woods growing in that Iſland, were not only by the *Romans*, but afterwards, when the *Chriſtian* Faith took place in this *Nation*, by the *Chriſtians* alſo fell'd and rooted out. And why? becauſe of the idolatry (ſaith he) and abſurd Religion uſed in them. Again, in his Epiſtle to *Ortelius* concerning the Iſle of *Angleſey*, the ſame Author affirmes; Though there is little wood now growing there, yet every day the roots and bodies of huge trees of a wonderfull length and bigneſſe are by the inhabitants found, and digged out of the earth, in divers places in low grounds, and champion fields.

Now, if in ſtead of theſe roots, and bodies of trees, the ruines of ancient Structures had been there found, it might per-

peradventure, with ſome probability, have been preſumed, either that the *Druid's* uſed *Temples*, or ſome other buildings of ſtone. For, their ancient ſeat was in the Iſle of *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, whence modern Writers ſtyle it *Inſulam Druidum*, the *Iſland* of the *Druid's*, and *ſedem Druidum*, the ſeat of the *Druid's*. And from hence, queſtionleſſe, it came to paſſe, the *Romans*, with ſuch difficulty, under the conduct of *Suetonius Paulinus*, brought that Iſland under their power; nor was it wholly ſubdued to their Empire, untill *Julius Agricola's* time. For, whereas in other parts of *Britain*, the people contended for Liberty only, there, they fought *pro aris & focis*, for Liberty, and Religion both.

Tacit. Ann. lib. 16.

There it was the *Britiſh* armies (ſaith *Tacitus*) being imbattailed, the women ran to and fro amongſt them in ſable weeds, their hair about their ears, and fire-brands in their hands, like infernall furies, the *Druid's* round about them alſo, lifting up their hands to Heaven, and pouring forth deadly curſes; the novelty of which ſight bred ſuch amazement in the *Roman Legions*, (the *Romans* here, it ſeems, were unacquainted with the *Druid's* till then) that they ſtood ſtock ſtill, and cloſe together, not once moving a foot, as if poſſeſſed with a reſolution to act nothing at all, but receive their deaths tamely and without any great reſiſtance.

Wherefore, beſides, that Hiſtory hath not remembred the ruines of any ancient buildings digged up in *Angleſey*; if either, this *Antiquity* had been remaining in that *Iſland*, or any Author delivered ſuch Actions of the *Druid's*, as aforeſaid, performed about the place, where *Stoneheng* remains ſtanding, there might have been ſome advantage made thereof to the purpoſe now in hand. But *Angleſey* excepted, ancient Writers give them reſidence in no part of *Britain* beſide, nor are they remembred by any, to have been found elſewhere, throughout the whole Nation. With reſpect whereunto, if the *Druid's* had knowledge, either to build the like magnificent ſtructures, or uſe, for any ſuch, they would, without all peradventure, have erected them upon the ſame place rather where themſelves reſided, then elſwhere.

Nei-

Neither are we to wonder, they choſe ſuch an out-nook or corner as *Angleſey*, to reſide in; in regard, there, they lived remote, and ſolitary; there, were ſtore of caves, and dens to inſtruct their Scholars in, cloſe and retired places for their own habitations, and plenty of groves to perform their ſacred myſteries in. Moreover, they paſt their days there, like the Hermits of old time, according to their own deſire, in full contentment, and with free liberty to ſtudy, and contemplate what they pleaſed. For, *Angleſey* (we muſt know) in thoſe times of yore, was wholly overgrown with deſert Woods, and obſcure forreſts, from whence the ancient *Britans* call'd it *Ynis Dowil*, the ſhadowy or dark *Iſland*. Which name it ſtill retains, and is well known thereby to the now inhabitants, who are, even at this day, likewiſe enclined, (yea, they uſually accuſtome themſelves) to commit things more to Memory, then Writing; and, as having received it by tradition from their Anceſtors, living in thoſe ancient times, ſtill endevour to obſerve that cuſtom of the *Druid's*, *who held it unlawfull to commit any thing to writing*. As *Cæſar* (in the ſixth book of his Commentaries of the Gauliſh war) delivers. *Caſ. Com. lib. 6.*

Concerning the *Britans* in the next place, The condition of thoſe ancient inhabitants of this Iſland in the *Druid's* time duly conſidered, (*viz.* in what manner they lived, how unskilfull in all Sciences, and civill cuſtoms, what Deities they had, in what places they adored them, and what manner of buildings, or ſacred or ſecular, were uſed by them) as little reaſon appears, that this Antiquity was by them erected.

As for their manner of living, the *Britans* were then a ſavage and barbarous people, knowing no uſe at all of garments. *Veſtis uſum non cognoſcunt* (ſaith *Herodian.*) Now, if deſtitute of the knowledge, even to clothe themſelves, much leſſe any knowledge had they to erect ſtately ſtructures, or ſuch remarkable works as *Stoneheng*. What faſhions they uſed to adorn their bodies with, the ſame Author tells us. *As a rare and rich habiliment, they wore about their waſts* *Herodian. lib. 3.*

and

and necks ornaments of iron (ſaith he) *and did pounce and colour their bodies with ſundry forms, in rude manner repreſenting ſeverall creatures.* In which regard, they would not be otherwiſe clothed, leſt conſtrain'd thereby to hide ſuch their ſimple (though with them much eſteemed) bravery.

Again, in other their civill cuſtoms, they were no leſſe rude and ignorant; yea, ſo barbarous, even in things appertaining to common ſuſtenance, and whatever husbandry; that (as *Strabo*) *Quidam eorum ob imperitiam caſeos nullos conficiant, cum tamen lacte abundent: alii hortos colendi, & aliarum partium agriculturæ ignari ſunt. Many of them, though they had great plenty of milk, yet their want of skill was ſuch, they knew not how to make cheeſe: others ſo ſimple, they knew not to order their gardens or orchards, or any thing belonging thereunto.*

Strabo li.4.

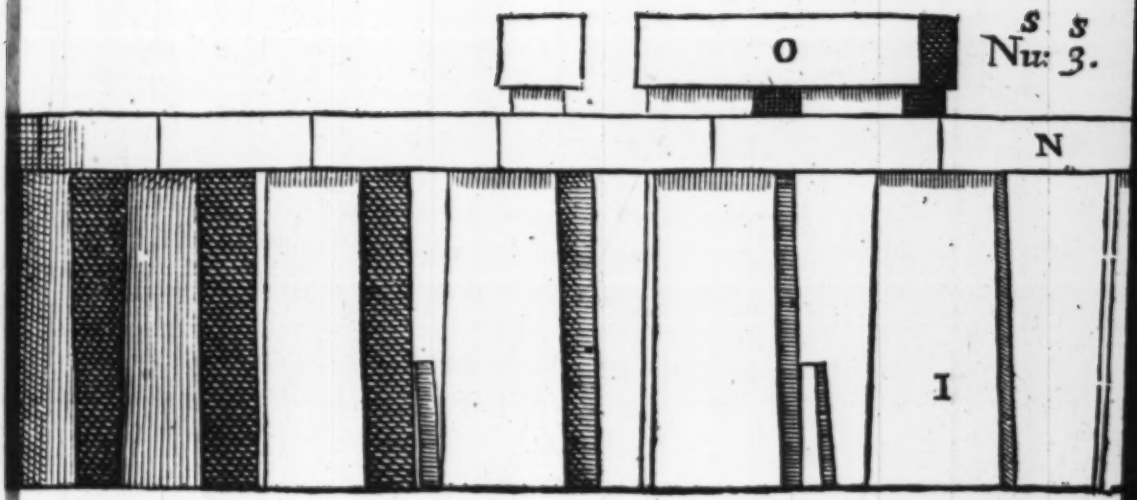
Their Countrey alſo then lay uncultivated, no corn ſown: *Quævis herba & radix cibus eſt, Their food was herbs and roots* (ſaith *Dion Caſſius.*) Hence Sir *Walter Raleigh* cals them the *Britiſh Nomades.* And (by the way) it may not inappoſitely be obſerv'd, milk, roots, and fruit were the chief banquetting diſhes; and skins of beaſts (if clothed) the moſt coſtly habits of our Forefathers. Now who can, in reaſon imagine, that any great knowledge, practice, or delight of Arts and Sciences, wherein the elegancy of Architecture conſiſts, ſhould be in uſe or eſteem, amongſt a people, wholly devoted (as I may ſo ſay) and given over to ſuch barbarity?

Dion li.62.
Ral.li.3.c.5.

There were then no publick roads, or common highways to paſſe from one place to another, no conſtant habitations, *Nec mœnia, nec urbes, Nor towns nor walls* (as *Dion* out of *Xiphiline* hath it) much leſſe *Temples,* or other buildings made of ſtone, compoſed by Art, with Order, and Proportion.

Dion li.76.

Moreover, who caſt their eies upon this Antiquity, and examine the ſame with judgement, muſt be enforced to confeſſe it erected by people, grand maſters in the Art of building, and liberall ſciences, whereof the ancient *Britans* utterly ignorant, as a Nation wholly addicted to wars, never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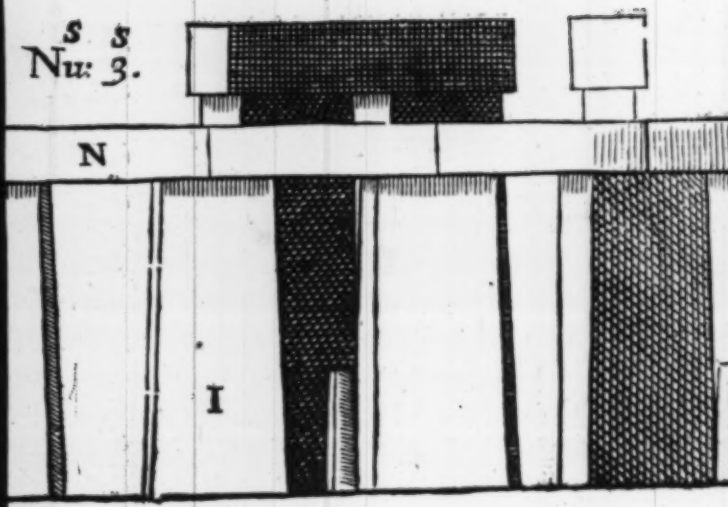
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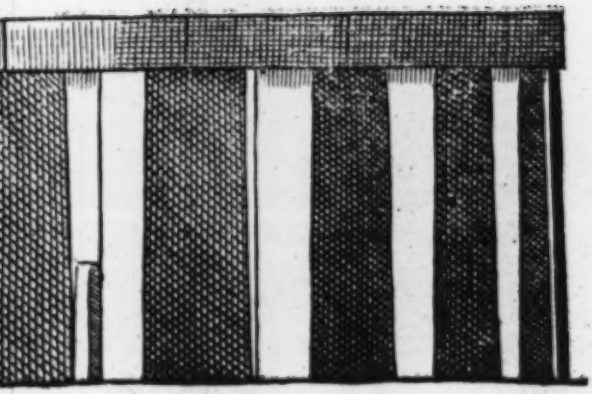

ver applying themſelves to the ſtudy of Arts, or troubling their thoughts with any excellency therein. *Omnis arbor domus. Every tree being in ſtead of a houſe to them.* *Dion lib.62.*

In the wars which *Bunduica* (whom *Tacitus* cals *Boadicia*) Queen of the *Iceni*, undertook againſt the *Romans*, wherein ſeventy thouſand of their Citizens, and allies periſhed; in diſdainfull contempt of the experience in Arts, wherein the *Romans* flouriſhed, *She* accounted it her chiefeſt glory (ſaith *Dion Caſsius*) to command over the *Britans*, in regard, a people they were, who had not learned, or knew, what belonged to the cultivating *and manuring of lands; or the practice of Arts, or to be craftſmen in any thing, ſave war. Qui non agros colere, non opifices eſſe, ſed bella gerere optimè didicerunt.* Where you ſee, their having nor experience nor practice in any kinde of Sciences, war excepted, was enforc'd, by *Bunduica*, as redounding greatly to the *Britans* honour, much advantage being made thereof by *Her*, towards advancing *Her* deſigns, as the Hiſtorian plainly tells us. *Dion lib.62.*

But certain it is, however barbarous in other affairs, a moſt warlike people they were. Never, untill the forces of the whole world united in the *Roman* Empire conſpiring to ſubdue them, liable to conqueſt: neither could all that power, till after numbers of years ſpent in the attempt, with infinite expence of men and treaſure, ever prevail againſt them. Now, as their ſole skilfulneſſe was in war, ſo they idoliz'd principally what had relation thereunto, their *Dea optima maxima*, being *Victoria*, whom they worſhipped under the name of *Andates*. Another Goddeſſe they had in much eſteem, called *Adraſte*, which ſome imagine (as the *Nemeſis* amongſt the *Greeks*) was their Goddeſſe of Revenge. Theſe, according to their ſavage manner of living, they adored in groves, and woods, the only *Temples* in uſe amongſt them, to perform their Sacrifices, and divine myſteries in. (as from ſeverall Authors I have already proved) Neither find I any particular place mentioned, to which any of theſe their *Temples* (if they may ſo be called) were aſſigned; only *Andates* (it ſeems from *Dion Caſsius*) had a grove

ſacred to her in the Countrey of the *Iceni*, anciently containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon* Shires, farre enough from *Stoneheng*.

Beſides, it is not to be paſt over in ſilence, how *Tacitus* expreſſeth himſelf in the before cited fourteenth Book of his Annals, telling us; *The* Romans *overthrew not the Temples, or razed to the Foundations, any of the ſacred ſtructures of the* Druid's *and* Britans *made of ſtone, or other materials, which he might as readily have done, if they had uſed any ſuch: but poſitively, the* Romans *cut down the* Britans *woods and groves, amongſt them reckoned holy, and conſecrated to their execrable ſuperſtitions.* True it is, other Temples, of greater magnificence then already ſpoken of, I find none: Ornaments of Art to enrich them they were not acquainted with: ſuch orderly compoſed works as *Stoneheng*, they had not any: yea, no kind of ſacred ſtructures of ſtone were in uſe amongſt them: their idolatrous places being naturally adorned, only with wild, and overgrown ſhades, deſigned and brought to perfection by Dame Nature her ſelf, ſhe being Architect generall to all their Deities. Nor did it conſiſt with their vain Religion to uſe any other, they making their worſhip, performing their Ceremonies, offering their Sacrifices in dark and obſcure groves, moſt conformable unto their barbarous, and inhumane, humane oblations.

Neither muſt it ſeem ſtrange, they uſed no other Temples then theſe, it not being their cuſtom alone; for the *Excelſi* or high places mentioned in the ſacred Story, wherein the Heathen performed idolatrous rites unto their Idols, were commonly groves, affectedly ſited upon ſome mountainous place, without any *Houſe* or *Temple*. The *Perſians* of old, (of whom *Herodotus*) *Neque ſtatuas, neque templa, neque aras extruere conſuetudo eſt, Erected neither Images, nor Temples, nor Altars: quinimo hoc facientibus inſaniæ tribuere, accounting it great folly and madneſſe in thoſe that did:* but aſcending to the tops of the higheſt, and moſt lofty hils, on them offered ſacrifices to their Gods. From hence, *Xerxes*, in his expedition, burnt down the Temples of the *Greeks*, becauſe they

Mayer. 1 K. 1. Ch.

Herod. li. 1.

ſhut

ſhut up their Gods therein, to whom all things are open and free, and to whom the whole Univerſe ſerves for a Temple. The *Abaſgians* alſo (inhabiting Mount *Caucaſus*) did worſhip, even till *Procopius* his time, groves and woods; and in a barbarian ſimplicity eſteemed the very trees themſelves to be Gods. In like manner, the Northern and Southern people of *America*, made all their Invocations and Exorciſms in woods. The ancient *Germans* likewiſe conſecrated woods and foreſts. *Lucos ac nemora conſecrant*, ſaith *Tacitus* of them. And the like places for idolatrous ſuperſtition, did divers other barbarous Nations uſe, before reduced to order, and civility of life, *Tacitus* giving this reaſon for it: They thought it a matter ill beſeeming the greatneſſe of their Deities, to encloſe them within Temples made by Art. His words are, *Nec cohibere parietibus Deos arbitrantur, They thought it not fit to reſtrain their Deities within compacted walls: id eſt, neque templis, neque domibus*, viz. *neither within Temples or Houſes made with hands*, as *C. Picbenas* commenting thereon more fully interprets.

Touching the manner of the buildings of the ancient *Britans*, and of what materialls they conſiſted, I find them ſo far ſhort of the magnificence of this Antiquity, that they were nor ſtately, nor ſumptuous; neither had they any thing of *Order*, or *Symmetry*, much leſſe, of gracefulneſſe, and *Decorum* in them, being only ſuch as *Ovid* (relating to the firſt Age of the world) makes mention of. *Ovid. Met. lib. 1.*

——————*domus antra fuerunt,*
Et denſi frutices, & junctæ cortice virgæ.

Thus Engliſhed by *Arthur Golding*.

——————*their houſes were the thicks,*
And buſhy queaches, hollow caves, and hardles made of ſticks.

To like purpoſe *Vitruvius*. *In the firſt Age of the world* (ſaith he) *men lived in woods, caves, and foreſts, but after they had found out the uſe of fire, and by the benefit thereof were invited to enter into a cer-* *Vitru. lib. 2.*

tain kind of ſociety, cœperunt alii de fronde facere tecta, alii ſpeluncas fodere ſub montibus, nonnulli hirundinum nidos, & ædificationes earum imitantes, de luto & virgultis facere loca, quæ ſubirent. Some of them began to make themſelves habitations of boughs, ſome to dig dens in mountains; other ſome, imitating the neſts of birds, made themſelves places of lome and twigs, and ſuch like materials, to creep into, and ſhroud themſelves in. Directly after which manner of workmanſhip, were the houſes of the ancient *Britans.*

Diodo. li. 6. *Domos ex calamis aut lignis ut plurimum habent compactas, Their houſes for the moſt part are of reed and wood,* ſaith *Diodorus Siculus.*

In the Northern parts they live in tents. *Degunt in tentoriis,* (ſaith *Dion,* epitomis'd by *Xiphiline.*)

Their Cities were without walls, the Country without *Strab. lib. 4.* Towns. *Urbium loco ipſis ſunt nemora,* (ſaith *Strabo*) *woods ſtand them inſtead of Cities or Towns. Arboribus enim dejectis ubi amplum circuitum ſepierunt, ipſi caſas ibidem ſibi ponunt, & pecori ſtabula condunt, ad uſum quidem non longi temporis. For when by felling of trees, they have incloſed, and fenced therewith a large circuit of wood, therein they raiſe cabbins and cottages for themſelves, and hovels for their cattell, of no great continuance, but only to ſupply their preſent uſe and occaſion.*

Cæſar. lib. 5. *Opidum Britanni vocant* (ſaith *Cæſar*) *quum ſilvas impeditas vallo atque foſſa munierunt, quo incurſionis hoſtium vitandæ cauſa, convenire conſueverunt, The* Britans *call a thick wood, incloſed about with a ditch and rampire, made for a place of retreat to avoid the invaſion and aſſault of their bordering enemies, a Town.*

Thus, you ſee, in what condition the Inhabitants of this Iſland lived in thoſe ancient times, having of themſelves, neither deſire, nor ability to exerciſe, nor from others, encouragement to attain whatever knowledge in the Art of Building. Precepts, and rules therein, the *Druid's* neither could, nor would impart unto them. That they could not, appears from what is formerly ſaid, and in what skilfull above others, they communicated nothing, but to thoſe of their own ſociety, *taking ſpeciall order* (as *Cæſar* affirms) *their diſcipline might not be divulged.*

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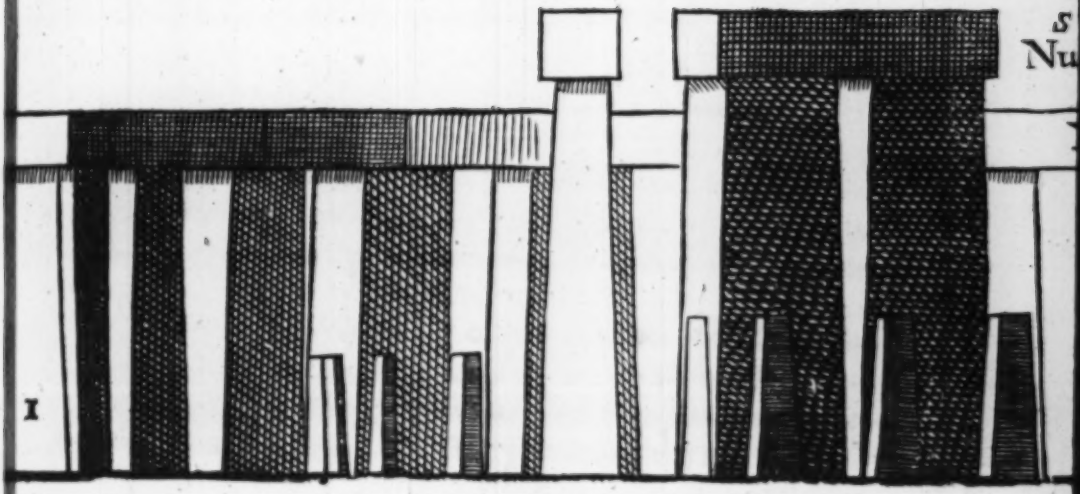
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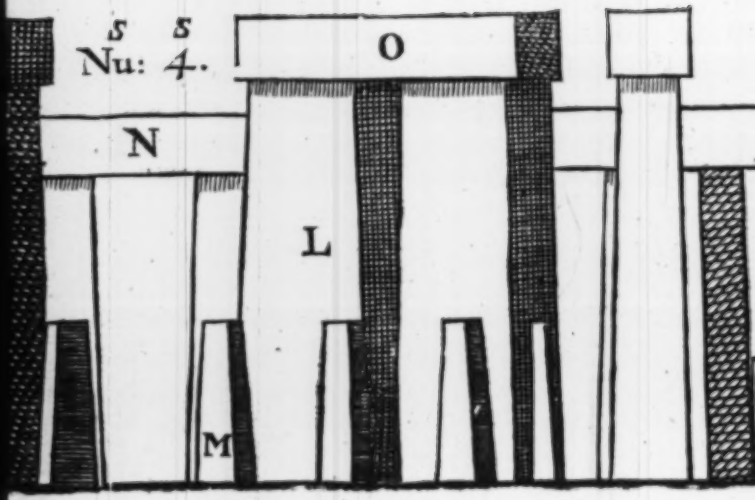
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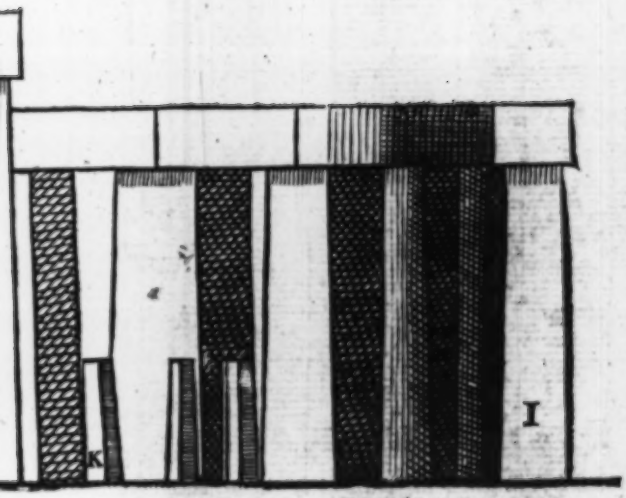
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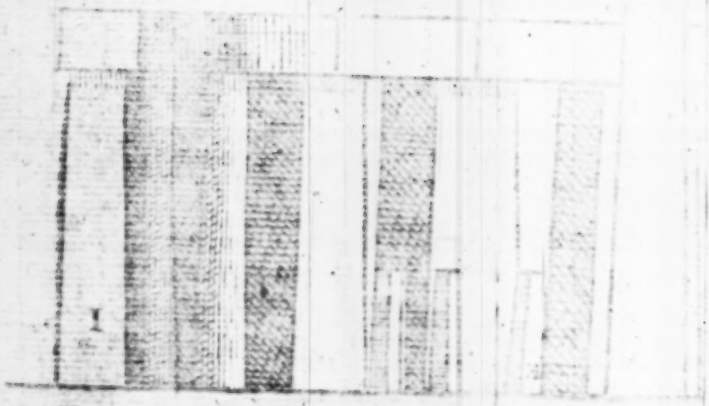


As for Colonies of any Nation practiſed in Arts, from whom they might receive or knowledge, or civil converſation, there were none ſetled amongſt them: neither had they commerce, or traffique, with any people experienced therein, much leſſe acquaintance with any other, except thoſe of *Gaul*, welnear as barbarous as themſelves. *None of the* Gauls *in a manner, had any knowledge* (ſaith *Cæſar*) *of the nature and quality of the people of* Britain, *or of the places, ports, or paſſes of the Countrey. Neque enim temerè præter mercatores illò adit quiſquam, neque iis ipſis quidquam, præter oram maritimam, atque eas regiones quæ ſunt contra Galliam, notum eſt.* For, *not any went thither without eminent danger, except merchants, and they alſo could give accompt of nothing, ſave only the Sea-coaſt, and thoſe Countreys which were oppoſite to* Gaul. *Never any Colony of the* Greeks, *for ought I know* (ſaith *Ortelius*) *was ſeated in* Britain. *And* Cæſar, *the firſt of all the* Romans *that diſcovered it,* ſaith *Camden.*

Cæſar. lib. 4.

Ortel. deſcr. Fr.

Camden fo. 2.

If deſire nevertheleſſe, to know in what times the ancient *Britans* began to be civilized, when to learn the knowledge of *Arts*, to build ſtately *Temples*, *Palaces*, *publick Buildings*, to be eloquent in forrain languages, and by their habits, and attire, attain the qualities of a civil, and well ordered people, *Tacitus* ſhall relate the ſame.

Sequens hiems ſaluberrimis conciliis abſumpta &c. *The winter enſuing* (being the ſecond year of *Julius Agricola* his *Propretorſhip*, or Leivtenancy in *Britan*; *Titus Veſpaſian* Emperour, about one hundred thirty three years after the firſt diſcovery thereof by *Cæſar*) *was ſpent in moſt profitable, and politick Councels* (ſaith *Tacitus*.) *For, whereas the* Britans *were rude, and diſperſed, and thereby prone, upon every occaſion, to warre*; Agricola, *to induce them by pleaſure to quietneſſe and reſt, exhorted in private, and helpt them in common to build Temples, Houſes, and places of publick reſort, commending thoſe, that were forward therein, and puniſhing the refractory. Moreover, the Noblemens ſons he took, and inſtructed in the liberall Sciences, preferring the wits of* Britain, *to the ſtudents in* Gaul, *as being now eagerly ambitious to attain the eloquence of the* Roman *tongue, whereas lately they utterly rejected that language. After that, our attire grew in account, and the gown much uſed amongſt them,*

Tacit. in vit. Agr.

them, and ſo by little and little they proceeded to provocations of vices, to ſumptuous galleries, baths, and exquiſite banquettings. Thus far *Tacitus.* Now had there been but the leaſt mention made, by any Author, concerning the *Druid's* inſtructing, and training up the ancient *Britans* in any ſuch matters, as theſe, (which *Tacitus* remembers the *Romans* to have done) what concluſions might have been raiſ'd from them? what preſumptive reaſons drawn, to prove, *Stoneheng* a work of the *Druid's*, or at leaſt erected for their uſe?

To conclude, if this authority from *Tacitus* only, (an Author eſteem'd the *Polybius* of the *Latines*) be throughly weighed, it will evidently manifeſt, (whatever elſe hath formerly been delivered) there was no ſuch thing in *Britain*, before the *Romans* arrived here, as that which we now call *Stoneheng.* What credit elſe with poſterity could *Tacitus* expect to gain, in affirming the *Britans* were taught and inſtructed in the liberall Sciences by the *Romans*; if thoſe *Arts* acknowledg'd, to be practiſ'd amongſt the *Britans* before? What need to have told us, the *Romans* made them skilfull in erecting ſumptuous *Palaces*, ſtately *Portico's*, and publick places, if the inhabitants here, accuſtomed to enjoy ſuch noble buildings, before the *Romans* arrivall in this Land? Why, tell ſucceeding Ages, when gentle perſuaſions not prevail, to make the *Britans* innovate, and admit of ſacred ſtructures to whatever Deities, *Agricola* compell'd them to found magnificent *Temples*, and aſſiſt therein, if this Antiquity *Stoneheng* extant before thoſe times? Why alſo, ſhould the *Britans* look upon the *Temple* erected by the *Romans* at *Camalodunum*, (ſuppoſed *Maldon* in *Eſſex*) in honour of *Claudius* ſacred memory, as an *Altar of perpetuall dominion* over them, if been uſed to ſuch ſtructures before? yea, ſuch an eye-ſore the *Britans* accounted it, as, that *Temple* was one of the principall cauſes, which gave birth to that fatall inſurrection under *Boadicia.* Neither would *Tacitus* have magnified the introducing thoſe cuſtoms amongſt them, as admirable policy in *Agricola*, and the true and only rule to bring them from their rude, and diſperſed manner of living

to

to civility, if the *Britans* attain'd ſuch diſcipline before, or any knowledge in the excellency of *Architecture* preceding the time of the *Romans* government here. No, for what ſaith *Camden*? *It was the brightneſſe of that moſt glorious Empire, which chaſed away all ſavage Barbariſm from the* Britans *minds, like as from other Nations, whom it had ſubdued.* *Cam.fo.63.*

Furthermore, in the time of this *Agricola*, *Britain* was fully diſcovered, the *Romans* had circumnavigated it, and knew, for certain, it was an Iſland, formerly doubted of till his time; yea, there was not a Port (as I may ſo ſay) a bay, mountain, valley, hill, plain, wood, or foreſt, either any cuſtom, rite, ceremony, or what elſe belonging to the knowledge of the Countrey, or manners of the People, but the *Romans* were then as well acquainted with (eſpecially, in that part of the Iſland now call'd *England*) as, at this day, the Inhabitants themſelves are. Nevertheleſſe, what mention ſoever is made by their Hiſtorians, concerning other matters of the *Britans*, not one word is to be found of this Antiquity, or any building of this kind in uſe amongſt them. But, becauſe ſome curiouſly learned have deſired ſomwhat to be ſpoken for their better ſatisfaction touching this particular, I have been too prolixe. In a word therefore, let it ſuffice, *Stoneheng* was no work of the *Druid's*, or of the ancient *Britans*; the learning of the *Druid's* conſiſting more in contemplation then practice, and the ancient *Britans* accounting it their chiefeſt glory to be wholly ignorant in whatever Arts. Neither could it be otherwiſe, ſeeing *their life ſo uncivil, ſo rude, ſo full of wars, and conſequently void of all literature.* (as *Camden* relateth) *Cam.fo.4.*

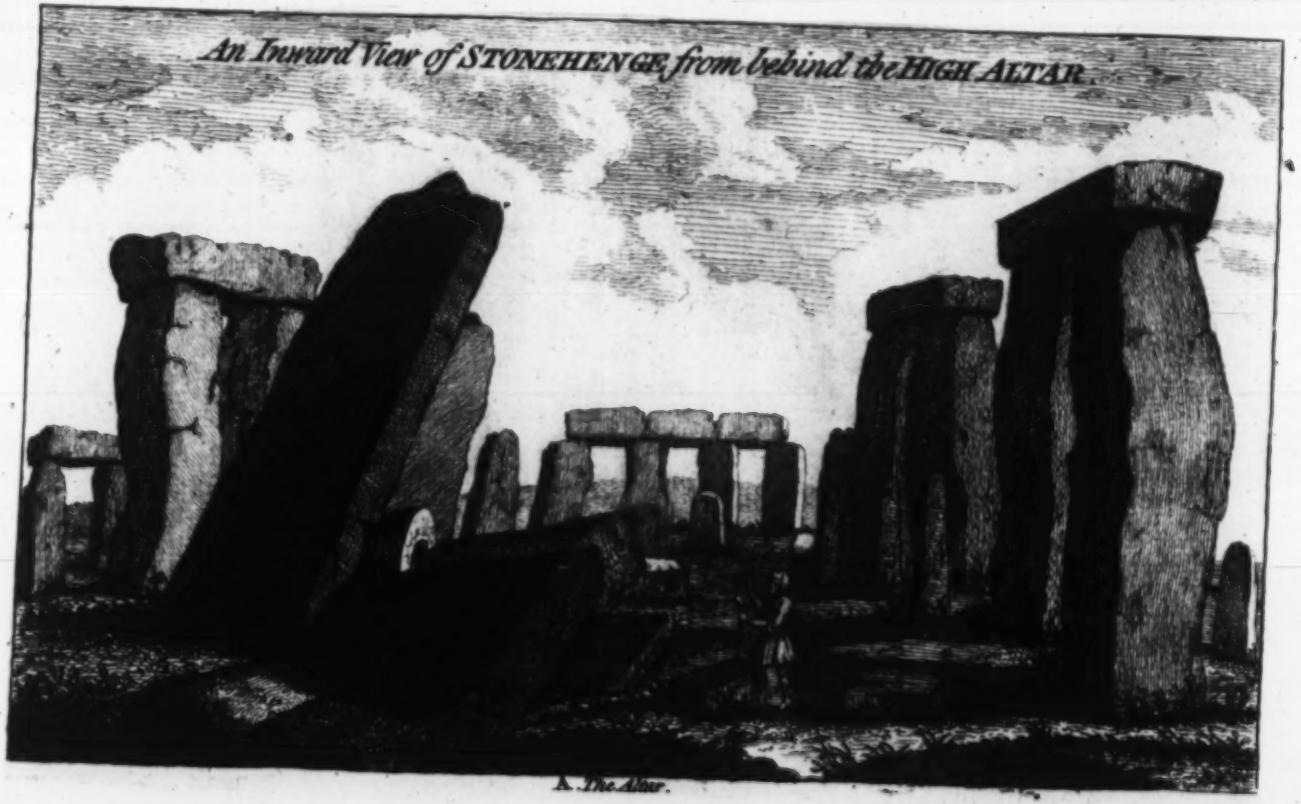
Yet, before I come to ſpeak of this middle Age (if I may ſo call it) wherein the *Romans* prevailed, and to compleat their victories gave firſt riſe to civility in this Iſland; as, I began with times of great Antiquity, ſo muſt I now deſcend to thoſe leſſe ancient, and modern, wherein, as poſterity hath ſuffered an irreparable damage, through want of writing in thoſe firſt times, ſo hath it been almoſt as great a loſſe, by too much writing in later times; ſo many Authors,

Authors, ſo much contrariety, ſo little certainty is found amongſt them. Who, when they could not ſearch out the truth in deed, laboured to bring forth narrations invented by themſelves, without or reaſon, or authority: delivering (ſaith *Camden*) their ſeverall opinions, rather with a certain pleaſant variety to give contentment to their *Readers*, then with any care or judgement to find out the truth of things.

THOSE ancient Hiſtorians who (among other actions of the *Britans*) treat of this Antiquity, differ much in their ſeverall reports. And, as it is uſuall with *Hiſtoriographers* of other Nations, where, they cannot give a juſt and rationall accompt of unwonted accidents, beyond the common courſe of things, to fill up their ſtories with fabulous, and incredible relations; ſo, no marvell, if we hear the like in our own Hiſtories. *Credibile enim eſt calamitatem bellicam, quæ eccleſias unà cum bibliothecis exhauſerat infinitis, clara vetuſtatis monumenta abraſiſſe. For evident it is, through the calamities of wars* (ſaith *Leyland*) *which together with infinite Libraries ruined the Churches themſelves, the certain records of our Antiquities, are utterly loſt. Unde ſcripturienti de antiquitate* Britannica *occultiſſima pleraque omnia. Whereby the Writers of the* Britiſh *Stories, are all of them, for the moſt part, very obſcure and doubtfull.*

Leyland. de aſſert. Arth. fo.35.

Some others again, eſpecially the moſt ancient and authentick *Britiſh* Hiſtorians, who liv'd in Ages next ſucceeding thoſe, wherein, *Stoneheng* might probably be firſt erected, have wholly paſſed it over with ſilence. In like manner venerable *Bede*, *William Malmeſbury*, *Roger Hoveden*, and others, ſpeak nothing thereof, as happily, willing rather to decline it altogether, then deliver it upon frivolous conjectures, and in ſo-doing caſt a blemiſh upon their other labours. Neither is it improbable, that the moſt ancient Authors, conſidering the times wherein they wrote, upon the firſt ſpringing up of *Chriſtian Religion* here, might through zeal unto the true God, forbear to commemorate unto poſterity, places deſigned for idolatrous uſes; endeavouring


An Inward View of STONEHENGE from behind the HIGH ALTAR.
A. The Altar.

vouring rather, to ſuppreſſe the memory thereof, and make ſucceeding generations ſollicitous therein; then, in that infancy of Divine worſhip, to illuſtrate the magnificence of the Heathens, for building ſuch notable ſtructures to their falſe Gods. Inſomuch, I find very little, or no mention at all thereof in the *Britiſh* Stories, except by *Geffrey Monmouth*, with ſome who follow him, and by ſuch Authors only, as our moſt judicious Writers hold in many things, either meerly fabulous, or overladen with malicious, or accidentary untruths. Such relations nevertheleſſe, as they make thereof, I ſhall endeavour to deliver in their own words, reduceable into two conjectures, *viz.* either that *Stoneheng* was erected by *A. Ambroſius* (in ancient times King of the *Britans*) in memory of the *Britiſh* Nobility perfidiouſly ſlain at a treaty by *Hengiſt* the *Saxon*: or elſe, ſet up by the *Britans* themſelves in honour of Him their ſaid King.

Giraldus Cambrenſis, curiouſly diligent in his relations of the miracles in *Ireland*, amongſt other ſtrange things in thoſe parts, reckons up this Antiquity *Stoneheng*. *Fuit antiquis temporibus in* Hibernia, *lapidum congeries admiranda*, (ſaith he) *quæ & Chorea Gigantum dicta fuit, quia Gigantes eam ab ultimis Africæ partibus in* Hiberniam *attulerunt &c. There was in* Ireland *in ancient times, a pile of ſtones worthy admiration, called the* Giants Dance, *becauſe Giants, from the remoteſt parts of* Africa, *brought them into* Ireland, *and in the plains of* Kildare, *not farre from the Caſtle of the* Naaſe, *aſwell by force of Art, as ſtrength, miraculouſly ſet them up. Theſe ſtones* (according to the *Britiſh* ſtory) Aurelius Ambroſius, *King of the* Britans, *procured* Merlin *by ſupernaturall means to bring from* Ireland, *into* Britain. *And, that he might leave ſome famous monument of ſo great a treaſon to after ages, in the ſame order, and art, as they ſtood formerly, ſet them up, where the flower of the* Britiſh *Nation fell by the cut-throat practice of the* Saxons, *and where under the pretence of peace, the ill ſecured youth of the Kingdom, by murdrous deſigns were ſlain.* *Gir. Camb. de adm. Hib. Cap.* 18.

Rainulph Monk of *Cheſter*, ſpeaking of *Aurelius*, alias *Aurelianus Ambroſius* (by others called *Ambroſius Aurelianus*) ſaith *Polychr. li.* 5.

(as Sir *John Treviſa* the Prieſt in old Engliſh laid it down) **his brother Uter Pendragon by help of Merlin the Prophet brought** Choream Gigantum, **that is Stonehenges out of Ireland. Stonehenge is now in the plain of Salisbury: of that bringing of Stonehenge out of Ireland, ſpeaketh the Britiſh ſtory, if it ſhould lawfully be ytrowed.**

It appears, *Rainulph* of *Cheſter*, as eaſie credit as he gave to ſtrange ſtories, had not much confidence in this: and if, according to *Geffrey Monmouth*, or *Matthew Weſtminſter*, I ſhould ſet it down, I preſume you would be of his mind. But, I affect not ſuch conceits, they are neither fitting my diſcourſe, nor your peruſall. Nevertheleſſe, ſeeing none of them tell us, by what ways, or Arts, Giants (as they will have it) brought them from the remoteſt parts of *Africk* into *Ireland* (for it ſeems they could not hanſomly find a *Merlin* to help them therein alſo) I ſhall take ſo much leave, following *Geffrey Monmouths* ſteps, as to give you, at leaſt, ſome part of the ſtory, and relate (according to their opinions) how they came from *Ireland* hither. After *Geffrey Monmouths* diſcourſe of *Uter Pendragons* victory over the *Iriſh*, who with *Merlin* forſooth and a great Army, were ſent by *A. Ambroſius* to fetch the Giants dance, *Lapidum ſtructuram adepti* (ſaith he) *gaviſi ſunt & admirati; circumſtantibus itaque cunctis, acceſsit* Merlinus *& ait, utimini viribus veſtris juvenes, ut in deponendo lapides iſtos, ſciatis utrum ingenium virtuti, aut virtus ingenio cedat, &c.* i.e. *Having found the ſtructure, from joy they fell into admiration, and ſtanding all of them at gaze round about it,* Merlin *draws near, and thus beſpeaks them: Uſe now your utmoſt ſtrength young men, that in taking away theſe ſtones, you may diſcover, whether Art to ſtrength, or ſtrength gives place to Art. At his command therefore, they bring ſeverall ſorts of engines, and addreſſe themſelves to pulling it down. Some ropes, ſome cables, ſome had made ladders ready, that what they ſo much deſired, might be effected, but in no wiſe able to atcheive their purpoſe. Deficientibus cunctis, ſolutus eſt* Merlinus *in riſum* (ſaith *Geffrey*) *& ſuas machinationes confeſſit. Denique cum quæque neceſſaria appoſuiſſet; leviùs quàm credi poteſt*

poteſt lapides depoſuit: depoſitis autem, fecit deferri ad naves, & intropon: & ſic cum gaudio in Britanniam *reverti cœperunt. All of them tired,* Merlin *breaks out into laughter, and provides his engines. Laſtly, when he had ſet all things in a readineſſe, hardly to be beleev'd it is, with what facility he took them down: being taken down, he cauſed them to be carried to the Ships, and imbarqued; and ſo with joy they began their return towards* Britain. Leaving it for us to ſuppoſe, with as ſmall labour they were imbarqued, diſ-imbarqued, and brought from their landing place to *Salisbury* plain: all (it ſeems) done by *Merlins* ſpels. But of this too much.

Nevertheleſſe, as I contemne fables, ſo doe I imbrace, and take pleaſure in the truth of Hiſtory: and therefore, that which concerns the ſlaughter of the *Britiſh* Nobility by treaſon of *Hengiſt* commander of the *Saxons*, as of greater moment, and truth, I ſhall more fully relate. And *Geffrey Moumouth's* Authority in this treacherous ſlaughter of the *Britans*, though I reſpect not ſo much, as *Nimius, Malmsbury, Sigebert*, and others that affirm the ſame; yet, becauſe he was the firſt, after ſo many, and ſo ancient Authors, that father'd *Stoneheng* their monument, and *A. Ambroſius* founder thereof, and therefore muſt trace him, and his followers therein; I will give you the hiſtory likewiſe from him, and thus it was: *Hengiſt*, upon his return with new ſupplies into *Britain*, finding *Vortigern* beyond expectation reſtored to the Crown, and withall greatly alienated in his affections towards him, prepared for his defence, with force of arms. But, whether he thought himſelf too weak; or, that he rather ſought to be eſpecially revenged on the *Britiſh* Nobility, who had wholly unriveted his deſigns, or both; he thought it no difficult matter to delude him by a Treaty, whom formerly he had ſo eaſily beguiled with his Neece *Rowena*. To which purpoſe, he makes an overture, to compoſe the enmities betwixt them at a Parley; and the King accepting it, appoints *Ambresbury* Town their meeting place, *Nec mora, ſtatuta die inſtante convenerunt omnes intra nominatam urbem* (ſaith *Geffrey*) *& de pace habenda colloquium inceperunt. Ut igitur horam proditioni ſuæ idoneam inſpexiſſet* Hengiſtus, *vociferatus* G. Mon. li. 6.

ratus eſt, **Nemet oure ſaxas**; *& ilico* Vortigernum *accepit, & per pallium detinuit. Audito ocyùs ſigno, abſtraxerunt* (i.e. *eduxerunt*) Saxones *cultros ſuos, & aſtantes principes invaſerunt, ipſóſque nihil tale præmeditantes jugulaverunt circiter quadringentos ſexaginta inter Barones & Conſules. The prefixed day being come, they all, without delay, met in the aforeſaid Town, and began their Treaty for Peace; when therefore* Hengiſt *ſaw fit time for execution of his intended Treaſon, he cried out, giving the word,* **Nemet oure ſaxas** (**Nem eowr ſeaxes** (ſaith Verſtegan) that is, *Take your* **ſeaxes**; a kind of crooked knives, which each of the *Saxons* then carried cloſely in his pocket) *and forthwith ſeiſed upon* Vortigern, *and held him by his robe. The* Saxons *quickly bearing it, drew forth their knives, and fell upon the* Britans *ſtanding by, of whom, part Noblemen, part officers of State, expecting no ſuch deſign, they ſlew four hundred and ſixty. Quorum corpora beatus* Eldadus *poſtmodum ſepelivit, atque Chriſtiano more humavit, haud longè à* **Kaer-caradane**, *quæ nunc* Salesberia *dicitur, in cœmeterio, quod eſt juxta cœnobium* Ambrii. *Whoſe corpſes holy* Eldad, *according to cuſtome, after Chriſtian manner interred, not far from* **Kaer-caradane**, *now called* Salisbury, *in the Church-yard adjoyning to the monaſtery of* Ambresbury.

Verſtegan Ch.5.

Ma. Weſt. fo.84.

With this relation of the *Saxons* treachery, *Mathew Weſtminſter* (in his *Flores hiſtoriarum*) ſeems to agree. And it wholly deſtroys the opinion commonly received, That the ſaid Treaty with the *Saxons*, the maſſacre of the *Britans*, and likewiſe their interment, were at *Stoneheng*; and that in memory, thoſe matters ſo tranſacted there, *A. Ambroſius* in the ſame place erected this Antiquity. Wherefore, I much wonder, our modern hiſtorians ſhould cite the aforeſaid Authors in confirmation thereof, eſpecially, when they affirm directly, the treaty was held in *Ambresbury* Town, and that the *Britiſh* Nobility fell by Treaſon there. *Juſſit* Vortigernus *& cives & Saxones* Maiis *Kalendis, quæ jam inſtare incipiebant, juxta* Ambrii *cœnobium convenire* (ſaith *G. Monmouth*) Vortigern *commanded both his own people, and the* Saxons, *upon the Calends of* May *then approaching, to appear near to the Monaſtery of* Ambresbury. *In Pago* Ambri *convenire, to meet*

Hollinſh. l.5. Speed lib.7. Stow fo. 53. 4to.

G. Monm. lib.5.

in

in the Town it ſelf of Ambresbury (ſaith *Mathew Weſtminſter*) In order to which ſummons, (that I may proceed with *Geffrey Monmouths* ſtory explaining himſelf poſitively concerning the place) *ſtatuta die inſtante convenerunt omnes in a nominatam urbem, &c. the appointed day being come, all of them met together within the forenamed Town, and there treated.* The iſſue whereof was, that upon the word given (as before related) *The* Saxons *drew their knives, and falling upon the* Britans *ſtanding by, ſlew them.* And, leſt poſterity ſhould doubt thoſe ſacrificed for their Countreys cauſe neglected in their funerals, he leaves not there, but gives us the direct place, and manner of their buriall, affirming plainly they were buried by a Metropolitane of thoſe times, even in a Church-yard, as Chriſtians ſhould. *In cæmeterio, quod eſt juxta conobium, In the Church-yard, cloſe by the Monaſtery.* (ſaith he) There is not one word mentioned (I pray obſerve) of *Salisbury plain*, where this *Antiquity Stoneheng* remains, throughout all their Story.

But, it's objected, although they were buried at the Monaſtery, the monument for their memory might be ſet up elſewhere, in a place more proper, and more conſpicuous; even, as in the moſt properly conſpicuous places where great actions happened *Trophies* were erected by the *Romans*, whoſe cuſtoms *A. Ambroſius* living long time amongſt them, knew very well. I anſwer, *A. Ambroſius*, is ſuppoſ'd by *Bede*, and the beſt Authors, deſcended from the *Romans*; who, living many years under their ſubjection, in forrain parts, had fully inform'd his judgement, no doubt, with whatever cuſtoms, civill or martiall, then in uſe amongſt them. For, though the *Romans* in thoſe times, had utterly loſt all knowledge of Arts, queſtionleſſe civill, and martiall cuſtoms in ſome ſort continued with them. Nevertheleſſe, if *A. Ambroſius* did erect any monument for the *Britiſh* Nobility, he rather, doubtleſſe endeavoured to obſerve the rules of his own Religion, being a Chriſtian, then the Heathniſh cuſtoms of his Anceſtors. However, in erecting it, at the place of their interment, he purſued both. As for the Chriſtians honouring to poſterity their famous men after death, it being

ſo

ſo well known, I need not relate it. And, as concerning the ancient *Romans* manner in burying their Emperours, and thoſe that had triumphed, or otherwiſe deſerved well of the Common-wealth, though they burned their bodies abroad, the place for ſepulture of their Aſhes, was within the City, monuments to their memory being erected, upon the ſame place where buried; ſo was *Publicola* honoured, ſo the *Fabritii*, the *Ceſars*, and others. And, after the ſame faſhion it ſeems, was the monument for the *Britiſh* Nobility (if any) ſet up where they were interred; as in the place of all others moſt propet for it, all the conſiderable circumſtances touching their deaths, happening there in like manner.

Thomaſ. Procachio fo.46.

It's true the *Romans* ſet up *Trophies* for great Victories, in the moſt eminent places where thoſe victories were obtained by them; as the *Trophy* for *Caius Marius* his vanquiſhing the *Cimbrians*, in the moſt notable place where that memorable field was fought. Alſo, the *Trophy* dedicated to the memory of *Auguſtus Cæſar* that by his happy conduct, all the *Alpine* Nations, were reduced to *Roman* obedience, was erected in the moſt conſpicuous place of the *Alps*. Now, this martiall cuſtome conſidered, the *Britiſh* Nobility being (as the aforeſaid Hiſtorians maintain) ſlaughtered in the Town, and buried at the Monaſtery adjoyning. Some one of thoſe high hils, on either ſide *Ambresbury*, had certainly for ſite been more eminent, and the monument it ſelf more expoſed to the daily view of travellers, then about two miles from the Town, in a place remote, where this *Antiquity* ſtands. Which, though indeed eminent of it ſelf, and overlooking the plains adjoyning; yet, at a large diſtance, eſpecially on that ſide towards *Ambresbury*, and *Salisbury*-ward, is ſo ſurrounded with hils; as it appears with an Aſpect of Religious horror, rather then as carrying any form of whatever ſepulture.

This, though ſufficient to refute the preceding objection (the former reaſons being grounded upon cuſtoms only) I ſhall yet, from the hiſtories of thoſe times, further anſwer thereunto; *Mathew Weſtminſter* tels us, *A. Ambroſius* having com-

Math. Weſt. fo.92.

compleated his victories over *Hengiſt*, and ſubdued his ſons at *York*; *Deinde porrexiſſe ad monaſterium* Ambri, *ubi principes defuncti jacebant, quos* Hengiſtus *prodiderat*; *from thence came to the Monaſtery at* Ambresbury, *where the deceaſed Nobles, whom* Hengiſt *betrayed, lay buried.* And *Geffrey Monmouth*, proſecuting the ſame ſtory, affirms alſo, that *A. Ambroſius* being come to the Monaſtery, *ut locum quo defuncti jacebant circumſpexit, pietate motus in lachrymas ſolutus eſt, dignum namque memoria cenſebat ceſpitem, qui tot nobiles pro patria defunctos protegebat. So ſoon as he caſt his eyes upon the place where the ſlaughtered Princes lay interred, deplored them; eſteeming that very ground which covered ſo many Nobles, dying for their Countreys cauſe, worthy eternall memory.* Upon this conſideration, *Præcepit* Merlino (ſaith the ſame Author) *lapides circa ſepulturam erigere, quos ex* Hibernia *aſportaverat.* A. Ambroſius *commanded* Merlin, *that the ſtones brought out of* Ireland (for he ſtill troubles himſelf and readers therewith) *ſhould be erected about the place of their buriall.* Whereby it clearly appears their Sepulchre was ſet up about the ſame place where they were buried, and not elſewhere. Alſo, as fully that their buriall place (as both the ſaid Hiſtorians have told us) was at the Monaſtery of *Ambresbury*, or Churchyard adjoyning to it. All which former circumſtances duly weighed, 'tis not poſſible *Stoneheng* ſhould be ſuppoſed their Monument; except *Geffrey Monmouth*, having made ſo formall a tale of their eaſie tranſportation from *Ireland*, would compell us alſo to imagine, poſterity might as eaſily be induced to aſſent, they were in like manner removed from the Churchyard at *Ambresbury* to *Salisbury* plain, the one being equally as ridiculous as the other, and no manner of credit to be given to either. G. Mon. l. 8.

Wherefore, laying all the aforeſaid Authorities together. Firſt, that *Giraldus Cambrenſis* formerly cited, tells us, (in that part of his ſtory which carries moſt likelihood of truth) a Monument was ſet up by *A. Ambroſius*, in memory of the *Britans*, ſlain at a Treaty by the *Saxons*, upon the very ſame place *where ſlain*; and in order thereunto the aforeſaid *Britiſh*

tiſh Hiſtorians unanimouſly affirming the place at which that treaty was held, and where thoſe *Britans were ſlain*, was the Town it ſelf of *Ambresbury*, not where this *Antiquity Stoneheng* remains: again, if ſuſpect *Cambrenſis* authority, and allow rather what our Hiſtoriographer of *Monmouth* ſaith, That the Monument was erected by *A. Ambroſius*, upon that plat of ground, where the ſlaughtered *Britans lay buryed*; he telling us alſo, their *buriall place* was in the Churchyard of the Monaſtery at *Ambresbury* (at the Monaſtery it ſelf, ſaith *Matthew Weſtminſter*) certainly then their Monument (whatſoever it was) being ſet up at the place, where they were both ſlain and buried; and (according to the aforeſaid Authors) they being nor ſlain nor buryed at *Stoneheng*, it muſt neceſſarily follow, this *Antiquity* was not erected in Honour of thoſe *Britans*. Unleſſe any man will undertake to prove (which moſt certain it is none can) *Stoneheng* ſtands now, where *Ambresbury* ſtood of old: or that the Monaſtery and Churchyard thereof were not at *Ambresbury*, but at *Stoneheng*.

Cam. fo. 254. That the Monaſtery of three hundred Monks, ſtood there, (to wit at *Ambresbury*) *Camden*, out of the Book called *Eulogium*, affirms. And, that the Churchyard was cloſe adjoyning to it, there's no queſtion to be made. Firſt, becauſe in all times ſince Monaſteries erected, it was always in uſe, to lay out places for Churchyards belonging to them, near to the Monaſteries themſelves. Secondly, becauſe divers Sepulchres, upon ſeverall occaſions, broken up at *Ambresbury* Monaſtery, manifeſt the ſame. Thirdly, becauſe *Geffrey Monmouth* plainly tels us, they were buried in *cæmeterio, quod eſt juxta cœnobium*; *in the Churchyard which is cloſe by the Monaſtery*. Laſtly, it is further confirmed by theſe his formerly recited words, *A. Ambroſius being come unto the Monaſtery, caſt his eyes upon the place where the ſlaughtered Princes lay interred.* Which is not poſſible he ſhould have done, if the Churchyard had been at *Stoneheng*; it being very well known *Stoneheng* cannot be diſcerned, even from the higheſt hils, upon thoſe parts eſpecially, that next ſurround *Ambresbury*, much

G. Monm. lib. 6. & 8.

leſſe

An Exterior View South West.

leſſe from the Monaſtery it ſelf, ſited in the bottome of a deep vale by the river *Avons* ſide.

Among other Sepulchres found at the ſaid Monaſtery, it's worthy memory, that about the beginning of this Century, one of them hewn out of a firm ſtone, and placed in the middle of a wall, was opened, having upon its coverture in rude letters of maſſie gold,

R. G. A. C. 600.

The originall Inſcription I could not procure; ſuch relation thereof nevertheleſſe as came to my hands, I have, upon credit of thoſe perſons of quality from whom received, inſerted it here.

The bones within which Sepulchre were all firm, fair yellow coloured hair about the ſcull, a ſuppoſed peece of the liver, near upon the bigneſſe of a walnut, very dry and hard, and together therewith, were found ſeverall royall habiliments, as jewels, veils, ſcarfs, and the like, retaining even till then, their proper colours. All which were afterwards, very choicely kept, in the collection of the Right honourable *Edward*, then Earl of *Hertford*: and of the aforeſaid gold divers rings were made and worn by his Lordſhips principall Officers. Concerning which Tomb (though I liſt not diſpute) why might it not be the Sepulchre of Queen *Guinever*, wife of King *Arthur*; eſpecially the Letters *R. G.* as much to ſay, *Regina Guinevera*, declaring her title and name; and the date *An. Chr.* 600. (if truly copied) agreeing (poſſibly well enough) with the time of her death? Beſides, *Leyland* affirms, ſeverall Writers make mention, ſhe took *upon her a Nuns veil at* Ambresbury, *died, and was buried there.* To which he gives ſo much credit, that (what ever *Giraldus Cambrenſis* delivers to the contrary) he will by no means allow, either her body to be afterwards tranſlated from *Ambresbury*, or, at any time, buried by her husband King *Arthur* at *Glaſtonbury*. Unto *Leylands* reaſons for her interment at *Ambresbury*, *Camden* (it ſeems) inclines alſo, becauſe wholly ſilent of her Sepulchre, diſcovered any where elſe: though he at large ſets down all the circumſtances of her Husbands body, its being found at *Glaſtenbury*. For, had *Camden* apprehended any thing inducing him to beleeve,

Leyl. de aſſert. Arth.

her body had been together with his there found, he would never, certainly, have concealed it from poſterity.

Whether the aforeſaid Tomb ſo found, were her monument, yea or no, enough concerning the ſlaughter and ſepultures of the afore mentioned *Britans*; as alſo, that *Stoneheng* was not erected in memory of them. Let us come now to *Aurelius Ambroſius*, and ſee whether *Polydore Virgill's* ſtory in relation to *Stoneheng* agrees with what other Authors have delivered of *Aurelius*. For from *Polydore's* authority, our modern Writers raiſe their ſecond, and quite contrary opinion: namely, that the *Britans* erected this *Antiquity* for *A. Ambroſius* his Sepulchre.

Speed lib.7. Stow fo.53.

Polyd. Virg. lib.3.

Polydore Virgill treating of the actions of thoſe times betwixt the *Britans* and *Saxons*; Britanni, *Duci ſuo* Ambroſio *de republica bene merito magnificum* (ſaith he) *poſuerunt ſepulchrum* &c. *The* Britans *in memory of his great atchievements for the Common-wealth, erected a magnificent Sepulchre to their Chieftain* Ambroſius, *made of great ſquare ſtones in form of a Crown, even in that place, where fighting, he was ſlain, that the proweſſe of ſo great a Commander, ſhould neither be forgotten amongſt themſelves, who then lived, or left unremembred to poſterity. Which Monument remains even to this day, in the Dioceſe of* Salisbury, *near unto the village called* Amisbery.

This opinion of *Polydore* is grounded (as I conceive) upon no great likelihood. For, ſhould the *Britiſh Nobles*, far inferiour to *A. Ambroſius*, in honour, and dignity, be buried in the Churchyard of a Monaſtery, and a Sepulchre aſſigned for *Ambroſius* himſelf in the open fields? Should that *Chriſtian* King, who had accompliſhed ſo many great atchievements victoriouſly againſt the *Pagans*, enemies to *Chriſt*? Cauſed Churches to be repaired, which the Barbariſm of the *Saxons* had deſtroyed? pulled down and demoliſhed idolatrous places of the *Heathen*, and (as is more probable) rather, then erected by him, whilſt living, to others, or by others, to his memory after dead, the very firſt that began to deface this Heathenish ſacred ſtructure, (for, though

though a *Roman*, yet a *Chriſtian*, and zeal to true Religion, might, no doubt, cauſe him diſpenſe with ruining idolatrous *Temples* though formerly built, and conſecrated to falſe Gods by his ſeduced Aunceſtors) ſhould he, I ſay, be buried Pagan-like, in unſanctified, unhallowed ground, and others far leſſe eminent, leſſe conſpicuous, in more noble, and ſacred places? It could never be. Neither reaſon of State, nor fervor of piety, in thoſe more ſcrupulous times, could ever admit thereof.

Had *Polydore*, or any other, told us ſome Pagan-Saxon-Commander lay there intombed, 'twould have carried a ſhew of much more credit, and the ancient cuſtome of that *Peoples* burying their dead might have been produced, at leaſt as a probable argument, to confirm the ſame. For the Saxons a Pagan Nation, if any of *their Princes or Nobility died, in their houſes at home of ſickneſſe, were buried in pleaſant, and delightfull gardens; if from home, and in the wars, not far from their camps, in heaps of earth caſt up in the fields, which heaps they called Burrows: and the promiſcuous common people in medows and open fields.* Saxones *Nobiles gens Chriſti ignara, in hortis amœnis, ſi domi forte ægroti moriebantur: ſi foris & bello occiſi, in egeſtis per campos terræ tumulis quos Burgos appellabant, juxta caſtra ſepulti ſunt: vulgus autem promiſcuum etiam in pratis & apertis campis.* As *Leyland*, who laid a good ground-work towards the diſcovery of *Britiſh Antiquities*, delivers. *Leyl. de aſſert. Art.*

Polydore nevertheleſſe, had great reaſon to imagine *A. Ambroſius* famed the reſtorer of his Countrey (and Bulwark of War, as *Camden* cals him) worthy an everlaſting Monument, *Extat etiam nunc id monimentum in diœceſi* Sarisberienſi *prope pagum quam* Amisberiam *vocant*, *Which monument is yet extant in the diœceſe of* Salisbury (ſaith he) *not far from* Ambresbury *Town*: and ſo was the Churchyard of the Monaſtery too. He alſo tels us, *Factum fuiſſe ad formam coronæ, it was made in form of a Crown.* An elegant expreſſion (I confeſſe) of a no leſſe elegant work, if he meant *Stoneheng*; yet no argument thereby to prove *A. Ambroſius* or buried, or ſlain there. For, as touching *A. Ambroſius* his death, ſeverall Authors, of as good cre-

dit as *Polydore* (his integrity nevertheleſſe I queſtion not, others have been buſie enough therein) affirm, that *Paſcentius Vortigerns* ſon, with many rewards corrupted a certain *Saxon* called *Eopas* (*Clappa*, ſaith *Caxton*) who, taking upon him the habit of a Monk, under pretence of Phyſick (*A. Ambroſius* being then ſick) gave him poyſon, whereof he died at *Wincheſter*. And no wonder he was ſo poyſoned, many examples of the like kinde being recorded in Hiſtory. As in later times, the *Turkiſh* Emperour *Bajazet* the ſecond, under pretence of Phyſick poyſoned by a Jew: alſo *Conrad* third of that name Emperour of *Germany*, by an *Italian*: and, in times of old, under the ſame pretence, *Pyrrhus* that famous Epirot had been poyſoned by his own Phyſitian, if *C. Fabricius* the Roman Conſul would have enclined to ſuch ignoble reſolutions, as *Paſcentius* after put in act againſt *A. Ambroſius* in our ſtory.

G. Monm. M. Weſtm. Polychron. Caxton. Leyland.

Knolls in vit. Ba.

Ped. Mexia in vit. Con.

Plutarch in vit. Pyrr.

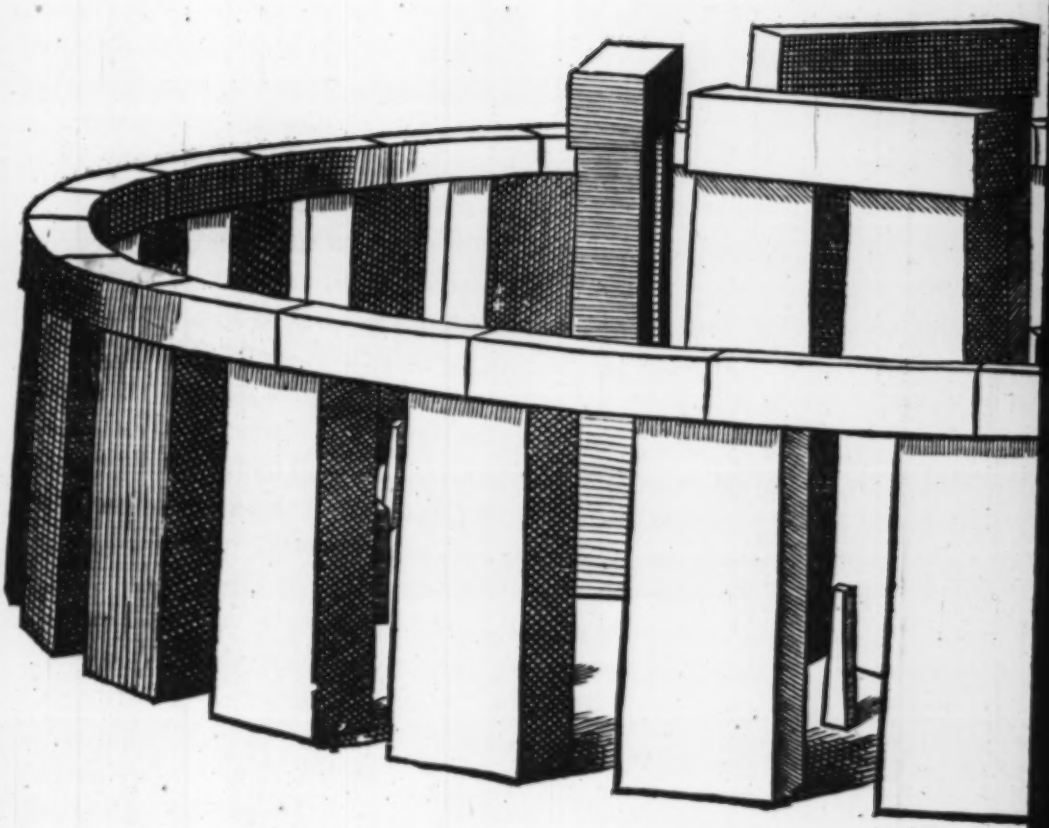
Amongſt other, who relate this diſaſter of *A. Ambroſius*, *Matthew Weſtminſter* tels us, The ſaid pretended Monk, *tandem ad Regis præſentiam perductum, venenum ei porrexiſſe, &c. being at laſt admitted to the Kings preſence, adminiſtred poyſon unto him, which having drunk, the wicked Traytor adviſed him to ſleep, and in ſo doing ſuddenly ſhould recover health! Nec mora, illabente per poros corporis & venas veneno, mortem pariter ſubſecutam eſſe. But, ere long, the poyſon being diſperſed through the pores and veins of his body, death ſeized upon him.*

Ma. Weſt. fo. 94.

Concerning the buriall of *A. Ambroſius*, if give credit to *Geffrey Monmouths* affirming *A. Ambroſius* on his death-bed gave command, and was accordingly buried, in the Sepulchre by him (whilſt living) prepared in the Churchyard adjoyning to the Monaſtery at *Ambresbury*, then was *A. Ambroſius* nor *buried* at *Stoneheng*, nor conſequently this *Antiquity* erected to his memory. *Geffrey Monmouth* tels us; *His death being known, the Biſhops, Abbats, and all the Clergy of that province, aſſembled together in the City of* Wincheſter. *Et quia vivens adhuc præceperat, ut in cœmeterio prope cœnobium* Ambrii, *quod ipſe paraverat ſepeliretur, tulerunt corpus ejus, eodem atque cum regalibus exequiis, humaverunt. And with reſpect to his command,*

G. Monm. lib. 8.

whileſt



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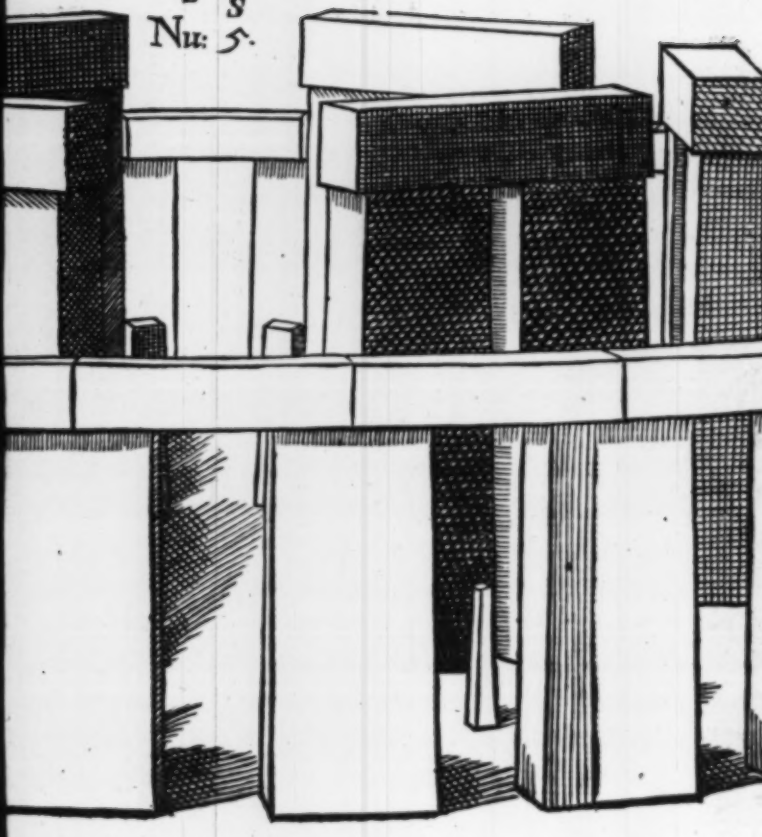

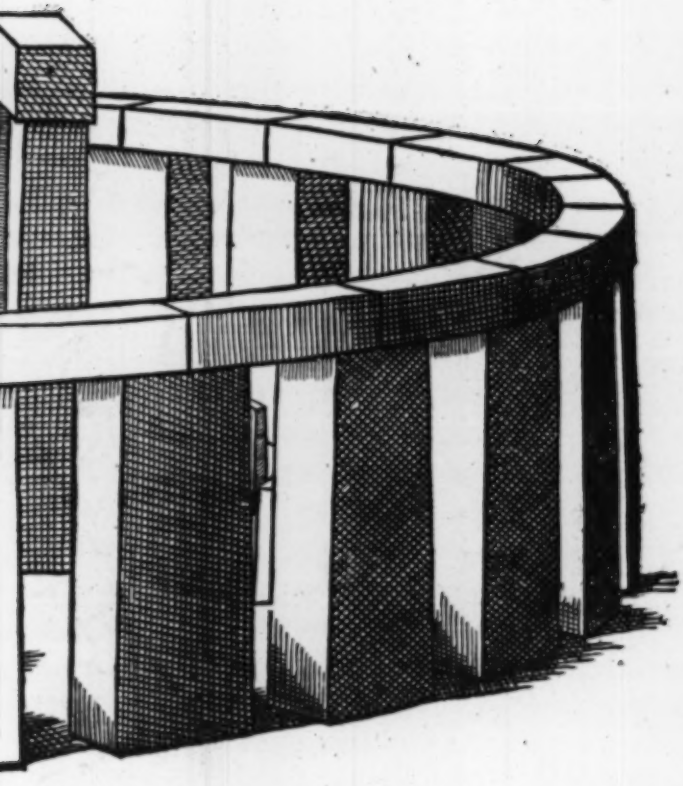

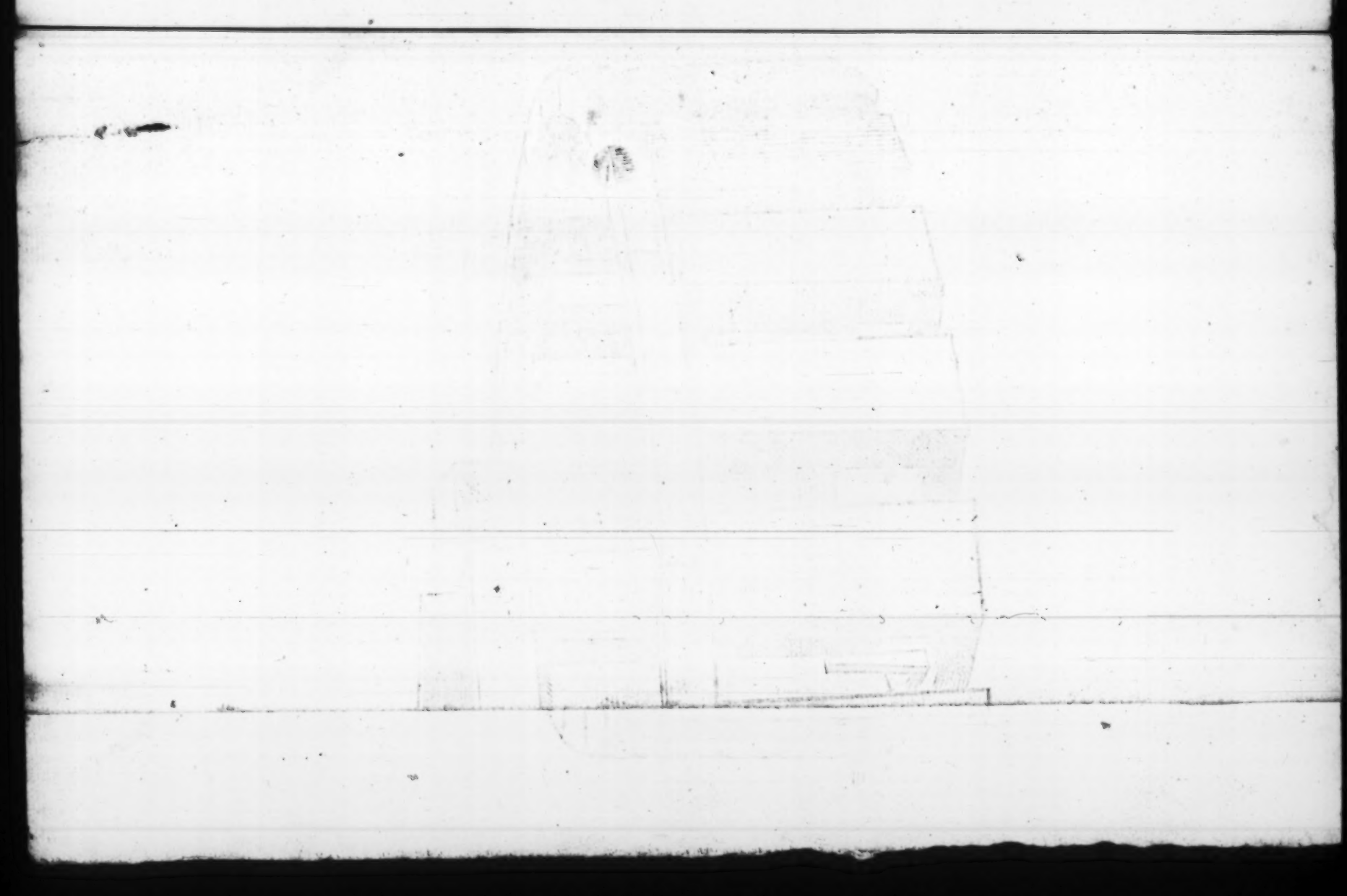

whileſt living, that in the Churcyard adjoyning to the Monaſtery at Ambresbury, *prepared by him, he would be buried, they took his body, and with royall ſolemnities enterred him there.*

Furthermore, at *Ambresbury*, that is, *Ambroſe* his Town, (*Camden* tels us) *certain ancient Kings, by report of the* Britiſh *ſtory, lay interred.* Whether *A. Ambroſius* was one of them, or no, I argue not; yet the ſame Author ſaith, *Ambroſe Aurelianus* gave name unto the place. And why not, he being buried there, as well, as upon the tranſlation of the body of *Edmund* that moſt Chriſtian King, the Town of *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk* was ſo called? *Cam. fo. 254.*

It manifeſtly hence appears, *Stoneheng* no Sepulchre, either erected by *A. Ambroſius*, or by the *Britiſh* Nobility, or to any of their memories. Some Monument there was, perhaps, anciently ſet up in honour of them, at the Monaſtery of *Ambresbury*. Which, the fury of the *Saxons* when victorious, or violence of time, which deſtroyeth all things, utterly conſuming, might happily be the reaſon, Hiſtorians in ſucceeding Ages, finding ſo notable an *Antiquity* as *Stoneheng*, not far from thence, and not apprehending for what uſe it was firſt built, ſuppos'd no other thing worthy *A. Ambroſius*, or thoſe *Britans*, then ſuch an extraordinary ſtructure. Whereas, the Monuments in thoſe ancient times, made for great Princes here in *Britain*, were onely two Pyramids between which interred, of no extraordinary bigneſſe erected to their memory in what e're Religious places thoſe Princes lay buried. Moreover, if ſeriouſly take notice of the ſeverall ſorts of Sepulchres uſed by divers Nations, none are found bearing like *Aſpect* with this work *Stoneheng*, but of other kinde of *Architecture*, far different in *Form*, *Manner*, and *Compoſure*. Some, made of one Columne onely; or, if otherwiſe, only a vaſe erected on the place of buriall, as amongſt the *Athenians*: Some, had a Columne whereon the ſhields uſed in War by the deceaſed, whilſt living, were fixt, as in thoſe medals of ſilver, which the *Roman* Senate dedicated to *Veſpaſian*: Some, a Columne with a Statue thereon; ſo the famous Columne of *Trajan* had a *Coloſſus* on the top

top thereof, as by his medals alſo appears. Again, the *Gauls* on the tops of Mountains, erected *Pyramid's* or *Columnes*, as Monuments to their Princes. The *Saxons* were buried (as ſaid before) in huge heaps of earth, to this day viſible among us. The *Keep* of the now *Caſtell* S. *Angelo* at *Rome* was the Sepulchre of the Emperour *Adrian.* (ſuch mighty moles were the Monuments of the *Romans*) The *Greeks* erected *Altars*, and inſtituted Sacrifices to the memory of their *Chieftains*, as the *Spartans* to *Lyſander*: The renowned *Carian* Queen made the *Mauſoleum* for her husband, a maſſie bulk of building, 140 foot high: The huge *Pyramid's* in *Ægypt* cauſing ſuch wonder in the world, were Sepulchres of *Ægyptian* Kings. In a word, amongſt all Nations, Sepulchres whether little or great, were always reall and ſolid piles; not airous, with frequent openings, and void ſpaces of ground within, expoſed to Sun and wind, neither uncovered like this *Antiquity*; or in any manner ſo built, as may enforce the leaſt preſumption, that this our *Stoneheng* was ever a Sepulchre.

I have given you a full relation what concerning *Stoneheng* hath been delivered by Writers, in reſpect of us though ancient, yet in regard of the great antiquity of this *Work*, indeed but modern, *Geffrey Monmouth* living not full five hundred years ago, and *Polydore Virgill* long after him, in King *Henry* the eighths reign: Who, as they are the principall Authors that write any thing of *Stoneheng*; ſo, upon what authority deliver the ſame, they make not appear. Inſomuch, *Camden* gives no more credit to their relations in this very particular, then unto common ſayings, (ſo he cals them) as if grounded upon *Fame* only, or invented by themſelves. And it may the rather be ſo preſumed, becauſe, as they lived not in ancient times, and conſequently could not themſelves bear teſtimony of any ſuch things; ſo, neither the *Britans* nor *Saxons* for a long time after their firſt arrivall here, had any Records or Writings to convey whatever actions, either of their own, or others to poſterity. *Nimnius* a *Britiſh* Hiſtorian, living about one thouſand years ago, telling us,

Bri-

Britannos *doctores nullam peritiam habuiſſe, &c. The great Maſters and Doctors of* Britain *had no skill, nor left memorall of any thing in writing*: confeſſing, that himſelf *gathered whatſoever he wrote, out of the Annals and Chronicles of the holy Fathers.* Nec Saxones *annuſi quicquam penè de rebus inter ipſos, &* Britannos *eo tempore geſtis ſcriptum poſteritati reliquerint, &c. Neither did the* Saxons *being unlearned* (ſaith *Leyland*) *leave almoſt any thing in writing to poſterity, of the actions performed in thoſe times betwixt themſelves and* Britans: *whatſoever, remembred after Chriſt taught in this Iſland, of the firſt victories of the* Saxons, *being both taken up upon truſt from the mouth of the common people, and committed to writing from vulgar reports only. Neither the* Britans, *utterly worn out with ſo many wars, had* (as the ſame Author hath it) *or deſire, or opportunity, had they deſired it, to beſtow their pains in compiling any whatever hiſtory, that might commend their actions to ſucceeding Ages.* *Leyland. de aſſert. Art. fol. 25.*

But, it may be objected: If *Polydore Virgill*, and *Geffrey Monmouth* could neither be eye-witneſſes themſelves, nor have authority from other more ancient Authors for what related by them concerning *Stoneheng*: and that from whatever writings ancient or modern, not any thing of certainty can be found out concerning the ſame; from whence then appear, for what uſe, or by whom *Stoneheng* erected? I anſwer, though not appear from Hiſtories written either by the *Britans* or *Saxons*; yet, as *Gildas* profeſſing he wrote his Hiſtory (for the former reaſons) *by relations from beyond Sea*: and, as *Ninnius* his *out of the Annals and Chronicles of the holy Fathers* as aforeſaid: ſo, ſeverall other ways a poſſibility of truth may be gathered, namely, from the authority of other Nations; from the concurrence of time for ſuch undertakings; from the cuſtoms of forepaſſed Ages in like works; from the manner and form of building proper to ſeverall Countries; from the uſe to which ſuch buildings applied, and the like. Upon which, as occaſion ſerves, intending hereafter more largely to inſiſt, I ſhall in the mean while ſet down the judgement our late Writers give of this *Antiquity*.

Cam-

Camden, a diligent ſearcher after Antiquities of our Nation, having, in his *Chorography* of *Wiltſhire*, collected all the aforeſaid opinions, together with his own, gives a ſummary de-
Cam. fo. 251. ſcription of *Stoneheng*, in words as follow. *Towards the North, about ſix miles from* Salisbury, *in the plain, is to be ſeen a huge and monſtrous peece of work, ſuch as* Cicero *termeth* inſanam ſubſtructionem. *For, within the circuit of a ditch, there are erected in manner of a Crown, in three ranks or courſes one within another, certain mighty and unwrought ſtones, whereof ſome are twenty eight foot high, & ſeven foot broad, upon the heads of which others, like overthwart peeces, do bear and reſt croſs-wiſe, with a ſmall tenon and mortaiſe, ſo as the whole frame ſeemeth to hang; whereof we call it* Stoneheng, *like as our old Hiſtorians termed it for the greatneſs the Giants dance. Our Countrimen reckon this for one of our wonders, and miracles. And much they marvell, from whence ſuch huge ſtones were brought, conſidering that in all thoſe quarters bordering thereupon, there is hardly to be found any common ſtone at all for building: as alſo, by what means they were ſet up. For mine own part about theſe points I am not curiouſly to argue and diſpute, but rather to lament with much grief, that the Authors of ſo notable a Monument are thus buried in oblivion. Yet ſome there are, that think them to be no naturall ſtones hewn out of the rock, but artificially made of pure ſand, and by ſome glewy and unctuous matter knit and incorporate together, like as thoſe ancient trophies or monuments of victory which I have ſeen in* Yorkſhire. *And what marvell? Read we not I pray you in* Pliny, *that the ſand or duſt of* Puteoli, *being covered over with water, becometh forthwith a very ſtone, that the ciſterns in* Rome *of ſand, digged out of the ground, and the ſtrongeſt kind of lime wrought together grow ſo hard, that they ſeem ſtones indeed? and that ſtatues and images of marble ſcalings, and ſmall grit grow together ſo compact and firm, that they were deemed entire and ſolid marble? The common ſaying is, that* Ambroſius Aurelianus, *or his brother* Uther *did rear them up, by the art of* Merlin, *&c.* Thus far *Camden*, it being needleſſe to repeat more from him, having already delivered the ſtory from the Authors themſelves. Yet here nevertheleſſe, as neceſſarily induced thereunto, I ſhall take leave to obſerve ſomething more remarkable to our purpoſe in hand, upon his words.

In

Inward View looking West More West.

A. *Stones fallen down*—B. *Part of the outward circle*—C *the highest Stones the inner part about 23 feet high each.*—

In the firſt place then, *Stoneheng* is by him called *a huge and monſtrous peece of work*, terming it from *Cicero*, *inſanam ſubſtructionem*. To which I ſay, had *Camden* as well attained other abilities of an *Architect*, as he was skilfull in *Antiquities*: or been as converſant in *Antiquities* abroad, as learned in thoſe of his own Nation, he would have given a far different judgement hereof. For, whoſoever is acquainted with the ancient ruines yet remaining in and about *Italy*, may eaſily perceive this no ſuch huge building, either for the circuit of the work, or bigneſſe of the ſtones, they being as manageable to the *Roman Architects*, as amongſt us to raiſe a May-pole, or maſt of a Ship. And, if this ſtyled *huge* and *monſtrous*, what may be ſaid of *Diocletians* baths? the great *Cirque*? *Marcellus* his Theater? *Veſpaſians Temple of Peace*? and other prodigious works of the *Romans*? the very remainders whereof now lying in the duſt, breed amazement and wonder (not without juſt reaſon too) in whoſoever beholds them with attentiveneſſe and judgement. Nay, whereas he ſtyles it *inſanam ſubſtructionem*, it's demonſtrable, that betwixt this Iſland of great *Britain*, and *Rome* it ſelf, there's no one ſtructure to be ſeen, wherein more clearly ſhines thoſe harmoniacall proportions, of which only the beſt times could vaunt, then in this of *Stoneheng*.

Moreover, *Our Countreymen marvell* (ſaith he) *from whence ſuch huge ſtones were brought, conſidering that in all thoſe quarters bordering thereupon, there is hardly to be found any common ſtone for building*. Upon what truſt *Camden* (his extraordinary judgement otherwiſe conſidered) took this relation, I know not. For, there is not onely common ſtone thereabouts, for ordinary uſes, but ſtone of extraordinary proportions likewiſe, even for greater works (if occaſion were) then *Stoneheng*: the Quarries of *Haſſelborough* and *Chilmark*, both of them not far from the borders of the plain, having of a long time furniſhed all the adjacent parts with common ſtone for building. And (to come nearer the matter) it is manifeſt, that in divers places about the Plain, the ſame kinde of Stone

whereof this *Antiquity* conſiſts may be found, eſpecially about *Aibury* in North-*Wiltſhire*, not many miles diſtant from it, where not onely are Quarries of the like ſtone, but alſo ſtones of far greater dimenſions then any at *Stoneheng*, may be had.

They wonder alſo (ſaith he) *by what means they* (that, is ſuch huge ſtones) *were ſet up.* What may be effected by that *Mechanicall Art*, which *Dee* in his *Mathematicall Preface* to *Euclyde*, cals *Menadry*, or *Art of ordering Engines for raiſing weights*; thoſe (it ſeems) of whom *Camden* ſpeaks took little notice of, when *Archimedes* during the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, raiſed out of the Sea, and turned in the air at pleaſure, the Ships and Gallies of the *Romans*, full fraught as they were with Souldiers, Mariners, and their ordinary lading: and if King *Hieron* could have aſſigned him, a fit place to firm his engines on, he would have undertaken to remove, even the terreſtriall *Globe* out of the worlds *center*, ſo high, perfection in this *Art* tranſported him. What ſhould I ſay of the *Obelisk* in Ages ſo far paſt, brought from the Mountains of *Armenia*, and erected in *Babylon* by *Semiramis*, one hundred & fifty foot high, and at the baſe twenty four foot ſquare of one entire ſtone? *Eſt in fano* Latonæ (ſaith *Herodotus* of his own knowledge) *delubrum ex uno factum lapide, cujus parietes æquali celſitudine ad longitudinem quadragenum cubitorum. cujus lacunari, pro tecto impoſitus eſt alius lapis quatuor cubitorum per oras craßitudine. In the Temple of* Latona (in *Ægypt*) *is a Chappell framed of one ſtone, whoſe walls being of equall height, are in length forty cubits, covered in like manner with one ſole ſtone four cubits thick.* Thoſe, which made this wonder would have much more admired, if they could have ſeen the *Obelisk* raiſed in times of old by King *Rameſis* at *Heliopolis*, in that part of *Ægypt* anciently called *Thebais*, in height one hundred twenty one Geometrical feet (which of our meaſure makes one hundred thirty ſix feet) of one entire ſtone: and ſo little wonder made they of raiſing it, that the Architect undertook and did effect it, the Kings own ſon being at the ſame time bound to the top thereof. Amongſt the *Romans*,

Plut. in Marcel.

Herod. lib. 2.

Ptol. lib. 4.
Plin. lib. 36.

mans, *Auguſtus Cæſar* erected in the great Cirque at *Rome*, an *Obelisk* of one ſtone, one hundred and twenty foot, nine inches long: another alſo, was ſet up in *Mars* field, nine foot higher then it, by the ſaid Emperour. And it ſeems alſo, neither they, nor *Camdens* ſelf had ever ſeen that *Obelisk*, which even in theſe our days, in the year one thouſand five hundred eighty ſix, *Sixtus Quintus* cauſed to be erected in the *Piazza* of S. *Peter* at *Rome*, one hundred and eight *Roman* palms high, and at the baſe twelve palms ſquare, (according to our Aſſiſe, fourſcore and one foot high, and nine foot ſquare) of one entire ſtone alſo: *Dominico Fontana* being *Architect*. But, there are more ſtrange things (as Sir *Walter Raleigh* hath it) in the world, then betwixt *London* and *Stanes*. It is want of knowledge in *Arts* makes ſuch admirers, and *Art* it ſelf have ſo many Enemies. Had I not been thought worthy (by him who then commanded) to have been ſole *Architect* thereof, I would have made ſome mention of the great ſtones uſed in the work, and *Portico* at the Weſt end of S *Pauls* Church *London*, but I forbear; though in greatneſſe they were equall to moſt in this *Antiquity*, and raiſed to a far greater height then any there. What manner of Engines the *Ancients* uſed for raiſing; and what ſecure ways they had, for cariage and tranſportation of their huge weights, is more proper for another ſubject.

Dom. Font. lib. 1.

Some there are (ſaith *Camden*) *that think them to be no naturall ſtones, hewn out of the rock, but artificially made of pure ſand, and by ſome glewy and unctuous matter, knit and incorporate together, like thoſe ancient trophies, or monuments of victory, which I have ſeen in* Yorkſhire. As for theſe Monuments (for my part) I have not ſeen, otherwiſe I would give my ſenſe upon them, and happily they may be found as far from being artificiall, as thoſe at *Stoneheng*. *And what marvell?* (ſaith he) *read we not, I pray you, in* Pliny, *that the ſand or duſt of* Puteoli, *being covered over with water, becometh forthwith a very ſtone &c.* He might as well have told us the Rocks in *Portland* are artificiall. But it's true, this ſand of *Puteoli*, was much uſed by the *Ancients*, and it is ſuch a kind of earth, as is very famous for its admirable ef-

feɛts in building, being tempered with the cement of *Cuma*: For, it not onely yeelds ſtrength to all other buildings, but thereby alſo, all works made in the Sea under water, are moſt firmly conſolidated. Yet, doe I not find, that ever the *Ancients* made any artificiall ſtones thereof, or that *Vitruvius* hath any thing to that purpoſe; to him the credit given to *Pliny*, and others, concerning the Earth of *Puteoli*, being only due; poſterity being in the firſt place beholding unto him for finding out the nature of that earth, he giving us not only the effects thereof, but the cauſe alſo from whence thoſe effects proceed. *Hoc autem fieri hac ratione videtur, quòd ſub his montibus* (i.e. *in regionibus* Baianis, *& in agris, quæ ſunt circa* Veſuvium *montem*) *& terræ ferventes ſunt, & fontes crebri, qui non eſſent, ſi non in imo haberent, aut de ſulphure, aut alumine, aut bitumine ardentes maximos ignes.* *Which is* (ſaith he) *by reaſon in thoſe mountains* (to wit, *in the regions of* Baiæ, *and fields about mount* Veſuvius) *the grounds are hot, and full of ſprings, which heat could not be, but that from the bottome, are nouriſhed mighty great fires, ariſing from ſulphur, alume, or brimſtone there.* Indeed, according to *Pliny*, the ſand upon the ſide of the hill of *Puteoli*, being oppoſed to the Sea, and continually drenched, and drowned with the water thereof, doth (by the reſtringent quality, no doubt, of the ſalt water) become a ſtone ſo compact, and united together, that ſcorning all the violence of the ſurging billows, it hardeneth every day more and more.

Vitr. lib. 2. cap. 6.

Nevertheleſſe, whoſoever could find out any kind of earth in this Iſland, naturally apt, to make artificiall ſtones of ſuch greatneſſe as theſe; and, like them ſo obdurate alſo, that hardly any tool enter them: or, that our Anceſtors in times of old, did make uſe of ſuch a cement, and in what manner compoſed by them. The benefit thereof doubtleſſe, would amount ſo ample to this Nation, that Records could not but render him deſervedly famous to all poſterity. In the mean while, as it is moſt certain thoſe ſtones at *Stoneheng* are naturall; ſo, am I as clearly of opinion, the very Quarries from whence hewn, were about *Ai-*

bury

bury before mentioned: where, no ſmall quantities of the ſame kind, are even at this day to be had; vaſt ſcantlings, not only appearing about the Town it ſelf, but throughout the plain and fields adjoyning, the Quarries lying bare, numbers alſo numberleſſe of ſtones, are generally ſeen. (being no ſmall prejudice to the bordering inhabitants) As alſo, not far from the edge of *Wiltſhire*, in the aſcent from *Lamborn* to *Whiteborſe hill*, the like ſtones are daily diſcovered. To mention, more places in particular is needleſſe, the Quarries at and about *Aibury* (without relating to *Lamborn*, or what ever other) diſtant but fifteen miles or thereabouts from *Stoneheng*, being of themſelves ſufficient to clear the doubt. Theſe, having through long time, got the very ſame cruſtation upon them, are in like manner coloured, grained, bedded, weighty, and of like difficulty in working, as thoſe at *Stoneheng*. Some of which, being of a whitiſh colour, are intermixt and veined here and there with red: ſome, of a lightiſh blew, gliſter, as if minerall amongſt them: ſome, for the moſt part white, perplexed (as it were) with a ruddy colour: ſome, dark gray and ruſſet, differing in kinds as thoſe ſtones at *Aibury* do. Some of them again, of a grayiſh colour, are ſpeckled or intermixt with dark green, and white, together with yellow amongſt it, reſembling after a ſort, that kind of marble which the *Italians* (from the valley where the Quarries are found) call *Pazzevera*; nothing, notwithſtanding, ſo beautifull, though naturally much harder, and being weathered by time, as in this work; diſdain the touch even of the beſt tempered tool. Inſomuch, that if nothing elſe, the more then ordinary hardneſſe of them is ſuch, as will in part convince any indifferent judgement in the nature and quality of ſtones; thoſe, in this *Antiquity*, are not (as *Camden* would have them) artificiall, but naturall.

Whatſoever, worthy admiration concerning *Stoneheng*, either in relation to the greatneſſe of the work in generall, the extraordinary proportion of the ſtones in particular, the wonder the people make, from whence brought, by what

Arts

Arts or Engines raiſed, and in ſuch order placed, *Camden* delivers: certainly, in his judgement he was wholly oppoſite to the opinions of the aforeſaid *Britiſh* Hiſtorians. He would never elſe, with ſo much regret have complained, *The Authors of ſo notable a Monument lay buried in oblivion,* had he given any the leaſt credit, this *Antiquity* had been built, either by *A. Ambroſius*, or the *Britiſh* Nobility, or to eternize either of their names, or actions to ſucceeding generations. Let *Geffrey Monmouth* and his followers, ſay what they pleaſe, *Henry Huntingdon* (his Contemporary, if not more Ancient) is mine Author, *Nec poteſt aliquis excogitare, qua arte tanti lapides adeo in altum elevati ſunt, vel quare ibi conſtructi ſunt. No man knows* (ſaith *Huntingdon*) *for what cauſe* Stoneheng *erected, or* (which is fully anſwered already) *by what Art ſuch huge ſtones were raiſed to ſo great a height.* Take with you alſo *Draytons* judgement in his *Poly-olbion* couched under the fiction of old *Wanſdikes* depraving *Stoneheng.* (*Wanſdike* being a huge Ditch in *Wiltſhire* ſo called, anciently, as *Camden* opines, dividing the two Kingdomes of the *Mertians* and *Weſt Saxons* aſunder)

H. Hunting. lib. 1.

Cam. fo. 241.

Poly-olbion Cant. 3.

Whom for a paltry ditch, when Stonendge *pleas'd t'upbraid,*
The old man taking heart, thus to that Trophy ſaid;
Dull heap, that thus thy head above the reſt doſt reare,
Preciſely yet not know'ſt who firſt did place thee there;
But Traytor baſely turn'd to Merlins *skill doſt flie,*
And with his Magicks doſt thy Makers truth belie.

For, as for that ridiculous Fable, of *Merlins* tranſporting the ſtones out of *Ireland* by Magick, it's an idle conceit. As alſo, that old wives tale, that for the greatneſſe it was in elder times called the *Giants dance.* The name of the *dance of Giants* by which it is ſtyled in *Monmouth*, hath nothing alluſive, no not ſo much as to the *tale he tels us*, ſaith a modern Writer in the life of *Nero Cæſar.*

Speed lib. 7. *Stow fo.* 58. *in* 4°.

Furthermore, our modern Hiſtorians *Stow* and *Speed*, tell us, in ſeverall parts of the Plain adjoyning, have been by dig-

digging found, peeces of ancient faſhioned armour, and the bones of men, inſinuating this as an argument, for upholding the opinions of the *Britiſh* Writers. To which, if they would have thoſe to be the bones of the ſlanghtered *Britans*, how came thoſe Armours to be found with them, they coming to the Treaty unarmed, and without weapons? Howſoever, what is done in the Plains abroad, concerns not *Stoneheng*, Neither can any man think it ſtrange, that in a place, where *Fame* hath rendred, ſo many memorable and fierce battels, fought in times of old, rufty armour, and mens bones ſhould be digged up. It is uſuall throughout the world in all ſuch places, and (if I miſtake not) *Sands* in his Travels, relates, that even in the Plains of *Pharſalia*, ſuch like bones and Armour, have lately been diſcovered: and Sir *Henry Blunt* in that notable relation of his voyage into the *Levant*, ſpeaks with much judgement of thoſe *Pharſalian* fields. Likewiſe, the aforeſaid Writers, might well have remembred, ſome of themſelves deliver, that at *Kambulan*, or *Cambula* in *Cornwall*, ſuch habiliments of War have been digged up, in tillage of the ground, witneſſing either the fatall field, ſometimes there fought, where *Mordred* was ſlain by *Arthur*, and *Arthur* himſelf received his deaths wound: or elſe, the reliques of that battel betwixt the *Britans* and *Saxons*, in the year eight hundred and twenty. 'Tis true, the relation conduces much towards confirming, that ancient cuſtome of the *Saxons*, formerly recited out of *Leyland*; conſidering eſpecially, not far from this *Antiquity*, lie certain hillocks, at this day commonly called the *ſeven Burrows*, where it may be preſumed, ſome *Princes*, or *Nobles* of the *Saxon* Nation lie interred. But, that *Stoneheng* ſhould therefore be a place of buriall, the aforeſaid relation to maintain the ſame is nothing worth.

Cam. fo. 194. Speed lib. 7.

They adde moreover, the ſtones yet remaining are not to be numbred, according as our Noble *Sydney* in his Sonnet of the wonders of *England*.

Near

Near Wilton *ſweet, huge heaps of ſtone are found,*
But ſo confus'd, that neither any eye
Can count them juſt, nor reaſon reaſon try,
What force brought them to ſo unlikely ground.

This, though it ſcarcely merits an anſwer, yet, to ſatisfie thoſe which in this point may be curious, let them but obſerve the orders of the Circles, as they now appear, and not paſſe from one to another confuſedly (noting nevertheleſſe where they begin) and they'll find the juſt number eaſie to be taken.

Now, though whether in order to the Place it ſelf where this *Antiquity* ſtands, or *Perſons*, by whom *Stoneheng* pretended to be built, enough ſaid, to wave the reports upon fancy, or common Fame, formerly delivered: to the ſtate of *Time* nevertheleſſe, wherein the *Britiſh* Hiſtories would have it erected, becauſe nothing by me hath yet been ſpoken, I will therefore adde, 'tis not probable ſuch a work as *Stoneheng* could be then built. For, although our *Britans*, in ancient time poſſeſſed, together with the *Roman* civility, all good *Arts*, it is evident during the reign of *A. Ambroſius* (about the firſt coming in of the *Saxons* here, and towards the later end of the fifth Century, as Hiſtorians and Chronologiſts compute it) in the laſt declining of the *Roman* Empire, the *Arts* of *Deſign*, of which *Architecture* chief, were utterly loſt even in *Rome* it ſelf, much more in *Britain*, being then but a Tempeſt-beaten *Province*, and utterly abandoned by the *Romans*. *Britain*, therefore, being over-run with enemies, and the knowledge of *Arts* then loſt amongſt them: none, queſtionleſſe, can reaſonably apprehend ſo notable a work as *Stoneheng* could in ſuch times be built.

That, amongſt the *Romans* and *Britans* both, *A. Ambroſius* governing here, all Sciences were utterly periſhed, is evidently manifeſt. For, the *Goths* had then invaded *Italy*; and that vaſt Empire drooping with extreme Age, by the fatall irruption of ſtrange Nations, was not only torn in peeces, but

Stone Henge Wiltshire

but *Barbariſme* having trod learning under foot, and the ſword bearing more ſway then letters, or learned men, all Sciences were neglected; and particularly that of *Building* fell into ſuch decay, that till of late about the year one thouſand five hundred and ten, it lay ſwallowed up, and (as I may ſo ſay) buried in oblivion. When one *Bramante* of the Dutchy of *Urbin*, attaining admirable perfection in *Architecture*, reſtored to the world again, the true rules of building, according to thoſe Orders, by the ancient *Romans* in their moſt flouriſhing times obſerved. Furthermore, not onely liberall Sciences and *Architecture*, but *Art* military alſo, about the time of *A. Ambroſius*, was ſo far loſt amongſt the *Romans*, that they were ignorant, yea, in the very rudiments of War. Inſomuch, (as *Procopius* in his ſecond Book of the *Gothick* Wars relate) *Barbariſm* had bereft them of the skill, even in what manner to ſound a retreat. *Serl. lib.3.*

With us here alſo, the *Saxons* domineer'd over all, and *A. Ambroſius* with the *Britans* had enough to do, in endeavouring the recovery of their loſt Countrey from a mighty prevailing Enemy, that in few years afterwards (maugre all the ways which force or policy could invent) conquered the whole Nation. Among other calamities attending that miſerable Age, *Camden* (from *William* of *Malmsbury*) directly to the purpoſe in hand tels us. *Cum Tyranni nullum in agris præter ſemibarbaros, nullum in urbibus præter ventri deditos reliquiſſent*: Britannia *omni patrocinio juvenilis vigoris viduata, omni Artium exercitio exinanita, conterminarum gentium inhiationi diu obnoxia fuit. When the Tyrants* (to wit, the *Romans*) *had left none in the Countrey but half Barbarians, none in the Cities and Towns, but ſuch as wholly gave themſelves to belly-cheer*; Britain, *deſtitute of all protection, by her vigorous young men, bereaved of* all exerciſe, and practice of good Arts, *became expoſed for a long time to the greedy, and gaping jaws of Nations confining upon her.* *W. Malmeſ. fol.8. Camden fo.87.*

Here you have it from an Author, more ancient then *G. Monmouth* a little, though both lived in one age, the times about *A. Ambroſius* government, whether before, during his reign, or after, were ſo full of miſeries, that he complains,

none then employed, or exerciſed in any whatever works belonging to *Art*. They had ſomthing elſe (as appears by divers Writers) to think upon, all their abilities being inſufficient to defend their Countrey from forein ſervitude, their Cities and Towns from ruine, and deſtruction, and their habitations from rage of cruell and inſolent enemies, robbing, ſpoiling, burning, waſting, all before them: to which, plague, peſtilence, and famine being joyned, the inland part of the *Iſland*, even to the Weſtern *Ocean* was welnear totally conſumed. *Gildas.*

Beſides, the Countrey was ſo oppreſs'd, what with outward hoſtile miſeries, what with inteſtine tumults and troubles: that, had they not loſt the *practice of all Arts* (as the former Hiſtorian ſaith they had) ſo far were they from erecting any work of this kind, that they were compelled to abandon their Towns, and houſes, built in times foregoing by their Auncеſtors, and betake themſelves to mountains, caves, and woods for ſhelter. Now, if the calamities of thoſe times hung over the *Britans* heads, in ſo generall manner, that not one amongſt them had leiſure to put pen to paper, (as from *Leyland* before remembred) much leſſe able were they, without all peradventure, to undertake ſo great a work as *Stoneheng*, wherein, as all rationall men muſt grant, numbers of men employed, and many years taken up, before brought to its abſolute perfection.

But, nothing can better expreſſe the ignorance of that Age, then the barbarous manner of inſcription upon the Tomb of the *Britiſh Hector* King *Artbur*, nephew to *A. Ambroſius*, found long ſince in the Churchyard of the Abbey at *Glaſtenbury*, the letters whereof, being exactly repreſented to our view by *Camden*, do, as by demonſtration, fully diſcover to us the Barbariſm of thoſe times. As, barbarous in thoſe characters, ſo were they ignorant in, and had loſt the uſe of all other *Arts*. *Nor exerciſe nor practice of good Arts, was then amongſt them*, ſaith the Hiſtoriographer of *Malmſbury*. And well he might ſo deliver himſelf, notwithſtand- *Cam. fo. 228.*

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ing *Matthew Weſtminſter* tels us, *A. Ambroſius* repaired *Churches*, which the rage of *Saxons*, enemies to *Chriſtian Religion*, ſpoiled. For, beſides, the vaſt difference betwixt ſuch works as *Stoneheng*, where *Art* overmaſters the common skill of man, and making up the decaies of ruinated buildings, is apprehenſive even to the meaneſt capacities: *Gildas* and *Bede* (whoſe Antiquity and learning the greater it is, the more is their authority acceptable) affirm, the *Britans* in thoſe times knew not in what manner to bring up bare wals of ſtone. When, the *Roman* Legion ſent to aid the *Britans* by *Valentinian* the third, under the conduct of *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, was remanded hence, for defence of *France*; before departing, they exhorted the *Britans* to make a wall overthwart the *Iſland*, to ſecure themſelves from the *Barbarians*, *Picts*, and *Scots*: which wall, *Bede* tels us, *was made not ſo much with ſtone, as turffes, conſidering they had no workmen to bring up ſuch works of ſtone; and ſo,* (ſaith the venerable Hiſtorian) *they did ſet up one, good for nothing. 'Twas made by the rude, and unskilfull common multitude, not ſo much of ſtone, as turffes* (ſaith *Gildas* alſo) *none being found able to give direction for building works of ſtone.* This was about thirty ſix years preceding *A. Ambroſius* government. In which time, the *Romans* abandoning *Britain*, *Vortigern* uſurped; call'd in the *Saxons* to his aid; was depoſed by his Nobility; and *Vortimer* his ſon ſet up. Whom *Rowena* having made away; *Vortigern* was re-enthroniz'd. Him *A. Ambroſius* invades, and having burnt him, together with *Rowena* in *Wales*, aſſumes the Crown as his; holding continuall war with the *Saxons*, untill poyſoned by *Paſcentius* as aforeſaid.

It being thus, that nothing but univerſall confuſion, and deſtructive broyls of war, appeared then in all parts; more ancient, and far more propitious times, muſt be ſought out for deſigning a ſtructure, ſo exquiſite in the compoſure as this: even ſuch a flouriſhing Age, as when *Architecture* in rare perfection, and ſuch *People* lookt upon, as by continuall ſucceſſe, attaining unto the ſole power over *Arts*, as well as *Empires*, commanded all. I ſay, ſuch *Times*, and *Perſons*, be-

cauſe thoſe things, which accord not with the courſe of time, which by a genetall conſent of Authors agree not; which by the approved cuſtomes of ancient Ages, and votes of learned men, are not received and allowed, and conſequently no ways probable; I eaſily admit not of.

Another fiction there is concerning *Stoneheng*, not to be paſt over; and though the cauſe upon which it's grounded, be far more ancient then the government of *Ambroſius*, or aforelaid ſlaughter of the *Britans*: nevertheleſſe, in reſpect it is a new conceit, not thirty years being paſt ſince hatch't, I ſuppoſe this the moſt proper place to diſcourſe thereof, having ended with *Geffrey Monmouth*, *Polydore Virgill*, and their followers.

The Author thereof is *Anonymus*, unleſſe known in being Tranſlator of *Lucius Florus*. His opinion, (in his *Nero Cæſar*) *Stoneheng* the Tomb of *Boadicia* (formerly remembred) Queen of the *Iceni*. His reaſons, firſt, becauſe that memorable battell betwixt her, and *Suetonius Paulinus* fought upon a Plain. Secondly, in reſpect the *Britans* buried her magnificently. For confirming this, he tels us, *Had the pretious volumes of the* Cornelian *Annals, and* Dio Caſſius, *and* John Xiphiline *been within the ſphеare of* Geffrey Monmouths *ſtudies, not* Aurelius Ambroſius, *nor thoſe four hundred and ſixty Noblemen of* Britain, *murthered in* Vortigerns *reign, ſhould have carried away with him the fame of this materiall wonder, but magnanimous* Boadicia. It ſeems, he would not be behinde-hand with *Monmouth*; for, as the one finding no ſtory more famous then of *A. Ambroſius* and the ſlaughtered *Britans*, fathered *Stoneheng* upon them: ſo, to make the inventive faculty, as apparently predominant in himſelf; this other, reſpecting *Boadicia's* heroicall actions, would as willingly make the world beleeve this *Antiquity* her Monument.

Ner. Caſ. fo. 181.

His principall argument I delivered before; to wit, the battell betwixt Her and the *Romans*, wherein *Boadicia* utterly overthrown too, being fought upon a Plain. Was there in old time (did he think) no Plain in *Britain* to fight a battell on but *Salisbury* Plain? How came *Boadicia* and her Army thi-

thither? I find indeed, *Boadicia* leading one hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men out of the *Iceuian* Countries, and like a terrible tempeſt, falling upon *Camalodunum*, that famous *Roman* Colony of old, (where the firſt fury of the War was felt) ſhe ſurpriſed it and razed it to the ground; *Suetonius Paulinus* then in *Angleſey*: Intercepting *Petilius Cerealis*, who advanced with the ninth legion to relieve that Colony, ſhe cut all his Infantry in peeces: Putting to the ſword all thoſe, which imbecillity of ſex, tedioufneſſe of age, or pleaſure of the place detained from following *Suetonius* in his march from *London*: And taking *Verulamium*, ſackt and burnt it down to aſhes. But, how ſhe marcht from thence to *Salisbury* Plain is neither apparent nor probable; not the leaſt inkling being left in the world, what hoſtile acts ſhe committed, which way ſhe moved, or what done by her, after the ruine of *Verulam*, till utterly overthrown.

Can it be imagined, ſhe that deſtroyed ſo great a Colony, together with a free-borough of the *Romans*, ſlain ſeventy or eighty thouſand perſons in ſuch horrid manner as ſcarce credible; reſerving not one Priſoner alive, but killing, hanging, crucifying, and burning whatſoever *Roman*, or to that party enclined: that was yet victorious, and her Army encreaſing daily; can it be imagined, I ſay, ſhe marcht to *Salisbury* Plain with ſo huge an Army inviſibly? or ſtole from *Verulam* thither by night, leſt notice ſhould be taken of her proceedings? *Anonymus* ſelf cannot think ſo unworthily of his *Boadicia*, yet certainly after ſuch manner ſhe went, if ever went thither at all: Otherwiſe, *Boadicia* marching in the height of glory, and bearing down all before her till rancountred by *Suetonius*. Thoſe faithfull Hiſtorians *Tacitus*, and *Dion*, (both ſo ſedulous in delivering her Fame to poſterity) would never have omitted ſo notable a march, through ſuch a large tract of enemies Countrey, as of neceſſity ſhe was to make from *Verulam*, to *Salisbury* Plain; but would have proſecuted her War, by recording the ſpoyls, rapines, burnings, and devaſtations made therein; as particularly, as from the firſt fomenting the rebellion, till

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her advance to *Verulam*, they have done. Upon which Town, and the aforementioned places only, the aforeſaid Hiſtorians directly tell us the whole burden of the War fell. *Ad Septuaginta millia civium & ſociorum iis quæ memoravi locis occidiſſe conſtitit*, ſaith *Tacitus*. *It was manifeſt, there were ſlain in the places, I have remembred, the number of ſeventy thouſand Citizens and Allies.* Bunduica *duas urbes* (ſaith *Xiphilines Dion* alſo) *populi* Romani *expugnavit atque diripuit, in iiſque cædem infinitam, ut ſupradixi, fecit.* Bunduica *took and razed to the ground two Towns of the* Romans, *and in them made that infinite ſlaughter, I have mentioned before, of fourſcore thouſand perſons.* At *Verulam* then, it fully appears, the courſe of her Victories ſtopt, the inhumane butchery of the *Romans*, and their confederates, ended with the maſſacre in that Town; which could not poſſibly have hapned, if with ſuch a firm reſolution to extirpate the *Roman* name in *Britain*, and ſuch a numerous Army to effect it, ſhe had gone on victoriouſly unfought with, ſo far as where this *Antiquity* ſtands. And therefore the Plain of *Salisbury* could not be the place of battell, as *Anonymus* would fain enforce it. Who having ſo largely, and with ſo good advice, diſcourſed the motions, and actions of this rebellion, with all the circumſtances thereof, from the firſt riſe, till ſhe deſtroyed *Verulam*, ſhould either have found ſome warrantable authority for *Boadicia's* ſo great an undertaking afterwards, elſe never engaged her ſo far within the *Roman* Province; otherwiſe, ſome may imagine, he framed it, only out of ambition for a meer pretence, rather, then ſtated it, from a reall endeavour, to make diſcovery for what cauſe *Stoneheng* at firſt erected.

Tacit. Ann. lib. 14.

Dion. Caſ. lib. 62.

Furthermore, *Suetonius Paulinus* was too well skilled in the diſcipline of war, to make the ſeat thereof in a Countrey ſo abſolutely *Roman*, as betwixt the *Britiſh* Ocean and the River *Thames*. He had it's true (being return'd from *Angleſey*) abandoned *London*, no colony. But upon what reſult? finding his acceſſe of ſtrength diſproportionable to the War in hand, and therefore *determined with the loſſe of one Town to preſerve the reſt whole*, (whether *London* or *Camalodunum* is not to

Tacit. Ann. lib. 14.

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the purpoſe) and, by attending the motions of the enemy, wait all fair occaſions to give *Boadicia* battell, *being unwilling to try his fortune too ſuddenly, multitude and ſucceſſe making the Britans outragiouſly daring.* In the interim nevertheleſſe, raiſing what forces, the exigency of ſo important affairs would permit. *Dion. Caſſ. lib. 62.*

Which way *Suetonius* marched from *London* is altogether omitted, yet if lawfull to conjecture, why not? to draw off the Forces of *Catus Decianus* Procurator, (not long before fled into *Gaul*, for fear of this War) together with the remains of *Petilius Cerealis* troops; quartered, as *Anonymus* confeſſeth, in thoſe very camps yet appearing about *Gildſ-brough* and *Daintry* in *Northamptonſhire*, then confining the *Icenian* Dominion to the Weſtward. Which Troops therefore, lay doubtleſſe, in very great danger if not timely relieved; eſpecially in caſe *Boadicia* ſhould conduct her Army that way; as, ere long afterwards ſhe did ſo far as *Verulam*; this courſe being taken by her, not improbably, in purſuit of *Suetonius*. Neither was it very dangerous for the *Roman* Generall to lead his Forces that way, the Enemies main ſtrength lying about *Camalodunum*. Howſoever, whether he marched up to them or no, concluded it is, he made his retreat towards *Pœnius Poſthumus* encamped with the *ſecond Legion* in the borders of the *Silures*, (now *Herefordſhire*, *Radnorſhire* &c.) for which *Legion*, *Suetonius* ſending to have it brought up to his Rendezvouz, his commands being ſlighted, that ſtrength failed him. *Ner. Caſ. fo. 105.*

The way which Suetonius *took, after his departure, was in mine opinion* (ſaith *Anonymus*) *towards* Severn, *where* Pœnius Poſthumus *encamped with the ſecond Legion among the* Silures. *Ner. Caſ. fo. 154.*

So alſo *Spencer* our famous *Engliſh* Poet finds it. Whereby it appears, *Suetonius* retreat was not Weſtward to *Salisbury* Plains, but Northerly towards that *ſecond Legion*. In this retreat, I may not omit, *Anonymus* conducts him over the *Thames* at *London*; which if granted, and, *that he kept the river upon his right hand ſtill*, untill engaging *Boadicia*, as *Anonymus* ſaith he did: then was *Suetonius* march *far away* indeed from *Salisbury* Plain. *Ner. Caſ. fo. 155.*

The courſe

courſe of that River winding, as we all know, through *Barkſhire* out of *Oxfordſhire*, where *Tame* from the County *Buckingham*, and *Iſis* from the edge of *Gloceſter* Province, make their conjunction a little beneath *Dorcheſter*. And, if keeping this courſe *ſtill* by the Rivers ſide, *Suetonius* marcht alongſt the banks of *Cherwell* alſo, then muſt *Anonymus*, whether he will or no, bring him up cloſe to *Gildsbrough* and *Daintry*, as aforeſaid; and thereby (for it is admitted *Cerealis* horſe-troops were at the fight) reconciling all opinions, upon his direct way towards the *ſecond Legion*.

Ner. Ceſ. fo. 166.

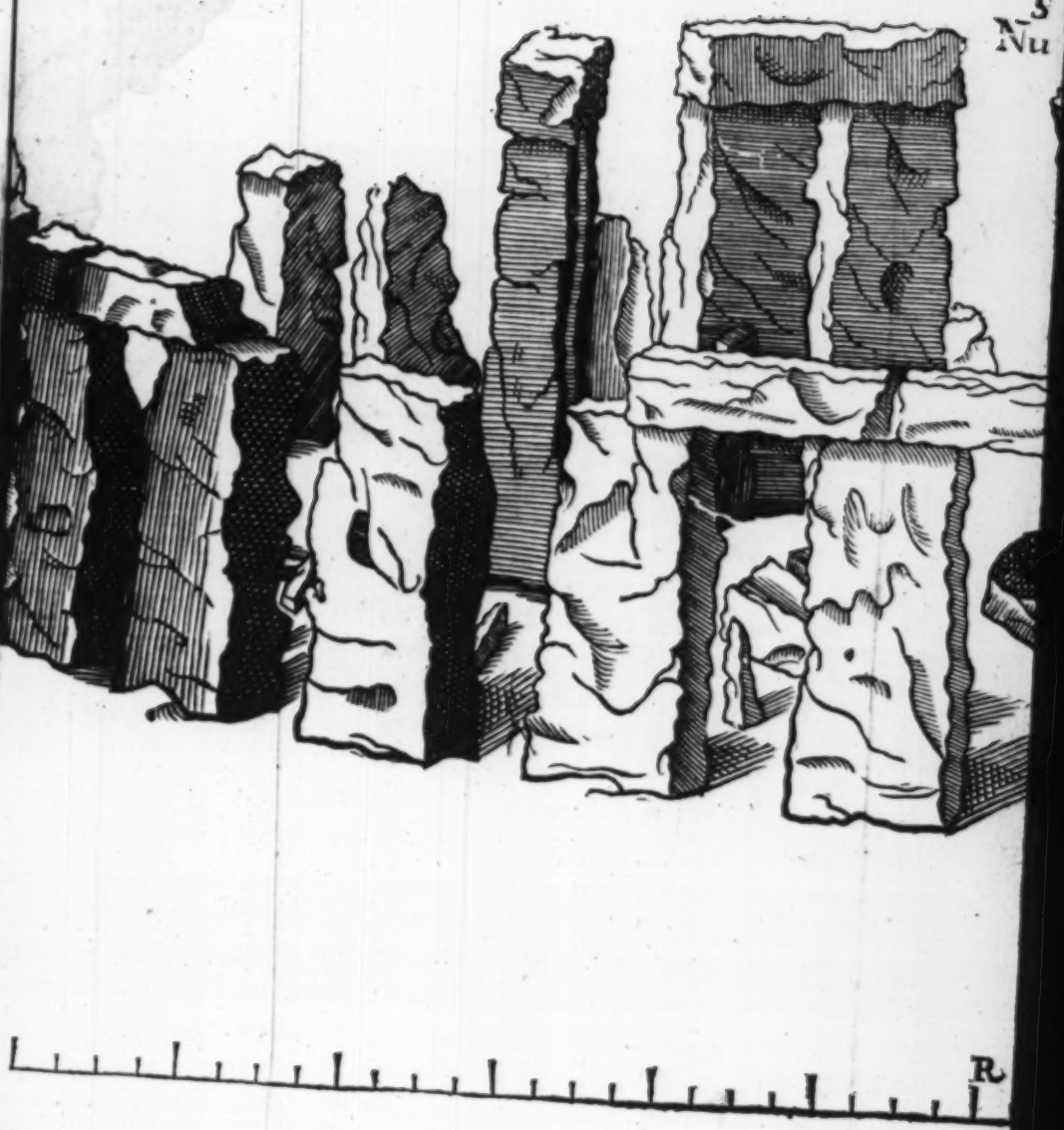
How far on, nevertheleſſe, toward *Pœnus Poſthumus* Camp *Suetonius* advanced is uncertain; but, that the battell might be fought in ſome Plain about *Verulam*, or upon that rode, is not altogether improbable (Eſpecially conſidering part of *Suetonius* ſtrength conſiſted of *Londoners*, who, as *Auxiliaries* followed him in this War, and would not ſtay behind) For, the *Roman* Generall when marſhalling his Army for fight, had with him (ſaith *Tacitus*) *the aids of the places adjoyning*. What places were theſe? the laſt *place* named by him was *Verulam*, the next place before it *London*; and, if the Hiſtorian intends either of theſe two, by the *places adjoyning* to the field, where the battell fought: then may *Anonymus* prove the deſarts in *Africa*, as ſoon as the Plains of *Salisbury*, to be the place of Battell.

Cant. 10. *Spencer* ſaith, the battell was fought near *Severn*:

Which ſeeing ſtout Bunduca *up aroſe,*
And taking arms, the Britons *to her drew;*
With whom ſhe marched ſtraight againſt her foes,
And them vnwares beſides the Seuerne *did encloſe.*

Tacit. Ann. lib. 14. Suetonius, when reſolving for fight, *deligit locum artis faucibus, & à tergo ſilvâ clauſum, ſatis cognito, nihil hoſtium niſi in fronte, & apertam planitiem eſſe ſine metu inſidiarum.* *Chooſed a place with a narrow entrance, encloſed behind with a wood, being well aſſured, he had no enemies but before him, and the Plain being open was without fear of Ambuſh.* Thus *Tacitus* deſcribes the field, the

Roman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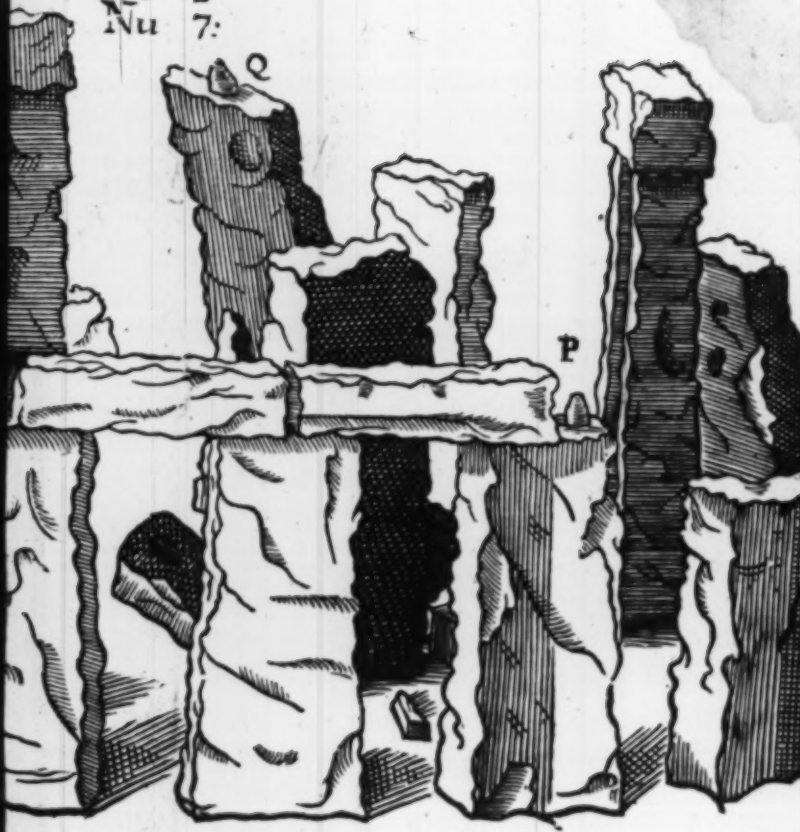

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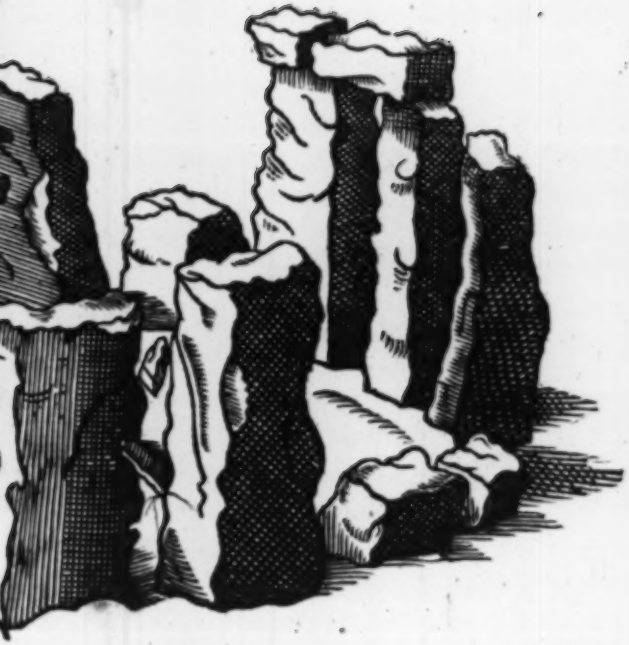
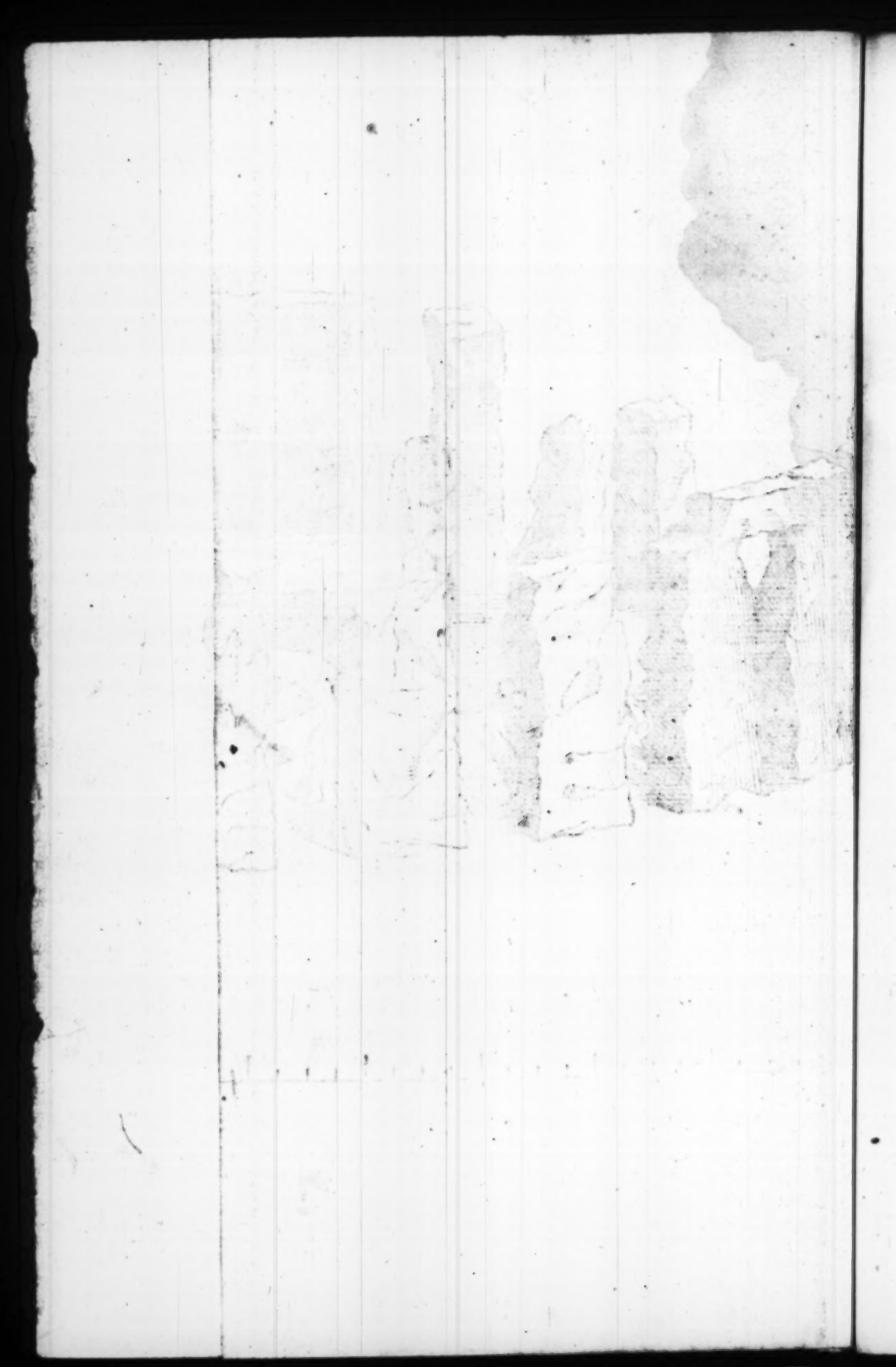




Roman Army conſiſting of ſcarce ten thouſand armed men. In what part of *Britain* ſoever this Plain lay, it was, for certain, of no great extent, being hardly able to contain the vaſt multitudes of *Boadicia's* Army; computed two hundred and thirty thouſand fighting men, by *Dion*, and therefore could not poſſibly be *Salisbury* Plain. For, the *Britans* placing their carts and wagons *ſupra extremum ambitum campi, in the utmoſt borders of the field*, had ſo environed their Army therewith, that upon the rout given, they could hardly flee away, *quia circumjecta vehicula ſepſerant abitus, by reaſon the carts* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *hedged in the paſſages on every ſide*, and (to uſe *Anonymus* own words) *were like a wall againſt evaſion.* Now, if the *Britans* had ſo ſurrounded the utmoſt borders of *Salisbury* Plain, and in ſuch manner barricado'd up all the paſſages thereof, their numbers ſhould rather have been millions then thouſands, as every man knowing thoſe Plains muſt needs confeſſe. Beſides, *Anonymus* ſelf tels us, *after the* Britans *in the head of their battel began to ſhrink and turn, that alone was a blow to all behind, who being many ſcore of thouſands, remain'd untoucht, during the fight, becauſe they could never come up to handy-ſtrokes, for* want of room *in the narrowings of the field.* He told us even now there was ſcope enough. *Whereabout in theſe parts of* Britain, (ſaith he) *that very place was, unleſſe it were upon* Salisbury *Plain, where there is a black heath, and* ſcope enough, *is not for me to imagine.* Now, on the contrary, when coming to the iſſue, he tels us the Plain was narrow, and they *wanted room.* Did the *Britans* want room in the field, and were on *Salisbury* Plain? Surely, in the heat of his deſcribing the Battel *Anonymus* forgot his own invention; the fury of the *Romans*, in beating down the *Britiſh* ſquadrons, therewith daſht the main force of his conceit to peeces. Suſpicious and jealous men had need of good memories. Upon the aforeſaid ſituation he might rather have obſerved, the great experience of the *Romane Generall* in martiall affairs, then from thence ſuggeſted, the *Britans* in point of honour erected *Stoneheng* to the memory of *Boadicia*, *Suetonius* not onely chooſing to make good a ſtraight encloſed behinde with a wood, for ſecu-

Ner. Caſ. fo. 179.

Ner. Caſ. fo. 178.

Ner. Caſ. fo. 161.

ring his own ſmall Troops, but ſuch a ſtraight alſo, where the Plain or field before it, was not of ſufficient extent for *Boadicia* to marſhall her great Army in. Furthermore, *Anonymus* determining (it ſeems) to parcell out his ground proportionable to the numbers, undertakes to give poſterity an exact ſurvey of this Plain, telling us, it *was a Plain of five or ſix miles over*: This makes it more apparent 'twas not *Salisbury* Plain, which far and wide ſo expatiates it ſelf through the middle of *Wiltſhire*, that it is not onely *five or ſix miles*, but (as I may ſay) five times ſix miles over. This famous battell then, being ſtruck upon a Plain hardly capable of *Boadicia's* Army, was not fought upon *Salisbury* Plain; but, on ſome other, which *Suetonius Paulinus* found beſt for his own advantage, and therefore *Stoneheng* (as *Anonymus* would fain have it) could not be the Sepulchre of *Boadicia.*

Concerning *Boadicia's* magnificent obſequies; a mighty Prince may be buried with great ſolemnity, yet no materiall Monument dedicated to his memory. Examples of this kinde are ſo frequent, there needs no mention of them. *Humaverunt magnificè*, (they are *Dions* words) the *Britans* laid her into the earth magnificently, with as much pomp, happily, and honour, attending her to the grave, as their barbarous cuſtoms for their glorious Chieftain would admit; but, that they raiſed any Monument, or erected whatſoever kinde of Sepulchre for her, much leſſe ſo notable a ſtructure as *Stoneheng*, he no where tels us. Which had the *Britans* done, the Hiſtorian could not avoid, taking more knowledge thereof, then of her bare enterment, and would undoubtedly have recorded it. Again, grant *Salisbury* Plain the place of Battell, yet, *Dion* ſaith not, they buried her magnificently where the battell fought, only, *Humaverunt magnificè*: adding withall, thoſe, that eſcaped the field, prepared to re-enforce themſelves for a new triall, in the mean while a diſeaſe ſeizing on *Bunduica*, ſhe died. Now then, after ſo terrible an overthrow, wherein 'tis reported ſhe loſt fourſcore thouſand *Britans*; *Boadicia*, in all likelihood, endevoured to recover the *Icenian* Countreys, her principall ſtrength; having in

Dion. Caſſ. lib. 62.

in her ſpeech before the Battell inſinuated the fenny parts thereof, as a refuge if the worſt ſhould happen. In what Countreys elſe could they recruit? where falling ſick ſhe died, (whether by violent or naturall death is not materiall) and as ever obſerved among all Nations, was, no doubt, buried in her own territories, among the graves of her renowned Anceſtors.

That the *Britans*, untill *Julius Agricolas* time, had learned nothing (as *Anonymus* takes ſpeciall notice) but *to fight, and were no handicraftſmen*, whereby they might be capable of erecting ſuch works as *Stoneheng*, being already fully proved from *Tacitus*, I will adde, the ringleaders or heads of commotions againſt Empires and Commonwealths were anciently, (in many Countreys at this day) not only themſelves puniſhable by the Laws with death, but their whole families and kindred though guiltleſſe, ſuffered in like manner; their very houſes alſo, being razed to the ground, leſt any knowledge of ſuch pernicious undertakings ſhould remain viſible to poſterity: and a capitall crime it was, in whomſoever that reſtor'd them. How comes it then, *Boadicia* the principall promoter, and Head of an inſurrection ſo fatall, as accounted by *Suetonius Tranquillus*, among the infortunate loſſes of the *Roman* Empire, and the more ignominious by a womans conduct, ſhould be permitted by the conquering *Romans*, a monument to eternize her fame to ſucceeding Ages? *Boadicia*, that ript up the bellies of the *Roman* Legionaries, and cutting out their bowels impal'd their bodies upon burning ſtakes; that hanged up the moſt noble and honourable *Roman Dames* naked, and ſlicing off their paps, ſowed them to their mouths, as in act of eating them; that in ſcalding water boiled the *Roman* infants, and young children to death; their Parents, Husbands, and Commanders unable to relieve them, but enforced to give way, and happy in ſo ſaving themſelves from the cruell inhumanities of the *Conquereſſe*. *We fought for to live*, ſaith *Tacitus*. Yet, when ere long afterwards, victoriouſly recovering *Britain* to *Cæſar*, by ſo memorable a battell as compared to

Ner. Caſ. fo. 117.

Sueton. in Ner.

Dion. Caſ. lib. 62.

their victories of old, ſhould the *Romans* ſuffer the enthralled *Britans* to erect a Trophy to her memory, whoſe purpoſe was abſolutely to root out all that was *Roman* here? what greater infamy to the *Roman* name, except the permiſſion of it? They, who raſed and broke in peeces whatever titles and inſcriptions, bearing the names of their *Caſars*; pulled down and demoliſhed the royall *Enſigns*, *Trophies*, *Statues*, *Temples*, or whatever elſe ſacred, to their own Emperors, when actively adminiſtring to the prejudice of the *Romane* State; would they permit any publick monuments be erected to the memory of a conquered Prince, of an Enemy ſo barbarouſly cruell as *Boadicia*? That ſhe lives in Hiſtory, they could not prevent; ſo live their worſt of Emperors. Moreover, publick Monuments were in all ages ſet up in honour of the Vanquiſhers, not vanquiſhed; reſpecting which, *Anonymus* ſhould alſo, either have made *Boadicia* Victreſſe, or never ſuppoſed *Stoneheng* her Sepulchre.

Ner. Caſ. fo. 182. The time aſſigned by *Anonymus*, for erecting theſe *orderly irregular, and formleſſe uniform heaps of maßive marble*, (as he cals them) *to the everlaſting remembrance of Boadicia*, is much above fifteen hundred years ſince: *Petronius Turpilianus* ſucceeding *Suetonius Paulinus* in the Leivtenancy of *Britain*; who by his idle and lazy life, making the world beleeve there was peace here: *Anonymus* will have it a proper time, for permitting *ſuch an office to the Britans*, in *Boadicia's* honour. Times of peace, 'tis confeſt, when *Arts* flouriſh under nobly minded Governours, are chiefly proper for erecting magnificent buildings. The Government under *Petronius* was guilty of none of theſe. As for the State of *Britain* in generall, *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* tels us, *Petronius* had compoſed the former troubles; but in what ſort, the fourteenth book of his *Annals* declares; *non irritato hoſte, neque laceßitus, neither the Enemy, incenſed him; nor he, provoked the Enemy*: otherwiſe *Petronius* durſt not do. And, if peace ſetled, why doth the Hiſtorian call them Enemies? Concerning his own perſon in particular, *Petronius* gave himſelf over to an unprofitable life, diſguiſing it under the honourable name of

of peace. *Honeſtum pacis nomen ſegni otio impoſuit*, ſaith *Tacitus*. And, the *Britans* (as ſaid before) were not then civilized, nor friends to ſuch Arts as either nouriſh or are nouriſhed by peace, therefore ſuch a work of wonder as this *Antiquity* famed, not to be expected from them. For, as through the malignities of the Age, wherein *Aurelius Ambroſius* lived, the *Britans* had utterly loſt the practice of all thoſe *Sciences*, in times foregoing, learned by their Anceſtors from the *Romans*: ſo, through the neglect of civil policy in the preceding *Roman* Governours, in this Leivtenancy of *Petronius*, the *Britans* had not attained the knowledge of any thoſe *Arts*, not many years afterwards, taught their poſterity by the *Romans*. Whoſe imperiall Eagles took not wing in *Britain* with ſuch lofty ſpeed, as over other Countreys; *The* Britans *being a fierce Nation, ſlowly giving ear to any peace*, the *Romans* had work enough in ſubduing them. *Julius Cæſar* rather ſhewed the Iſland to his ſucceſſors, then left them poſſeſſion of it: *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* held it policy to neglect it: *Caligula* intending to invade *Britain*, was diverted by his Wars in *Germany*: *Claudius* firſt proſecuting the conqueſt with effect, eſtabliſhed the colony at *Camalodunum*, and his Leivtenants *Aulus Plautius*, *Flavius Veſpaſianus*, *Oſtorius Scapula*, and *Didius Gallus* by little and little, after much conteſt, and various ſucceſſe, ſubdued certain Countries; and reducing the neareſt part of the Iſland to the form of a Province, built alſo, or rather caſt up ſome few fortifications further within the land: *Nero's* Generals had much to do in keeping, what their predeceſſors gained; *Suetonius Paulinus* (under him) ſtruck that fortunate battell with *Boadicia*, elſe the *Romans* beaten out of all. So that, in the time of *Petronius*, the *Romans* having obtained no ſuch aſſured dominion over the *Britans*, as might make them, themſelves confident to undertake great and ſtately buildings here, for their own either publick, or private accommodations; (the ruine of *Camalodunum* being too freſh in memory) occaſion was not offered, nor the time yet come, to let the *Britans* know by what *Arts* all civill Nations of

Tacit. Ann. lib. 14.

the

the world, did erect their exceſſive, rather then not magnificent ſtructures, for eternizing their names to ſucceeding generations. And therefore, the Leivtenancy of *Petronius Turpilianus*, not proper for building this *ſtony marvell*, as *Anonymus* ſuſpects. For, beſide what's delivered, whenſoever *Stoneheng* built, the preparation only of materials for the work, and bringing them to the place, what *Engines* or *Arts* ſoever uſed, neceſſarily, ſpent more time, then *Petronius* conſumed in the whole continuance of his government here. What tumults ſucceeded him, let others declare.

Furthermore, *if thoſe* times of *Petronius* would not, *yet* (ſaith *Anonymus*) *other enſuing ſeaſons might permit ſuch an office to the* Britans, *her name for ever glorious among them.* The hainouſneſſe of her Rebellion, horridneſſe of her cruelties, and inveterate hatred *Boadicia* bore to the *Romans*, whereby *her name for ever infamous among them*, clearly manifeſt all other *enſuing ſeaſons*, equally improper for thoſe ancient inhabitants of this Iſland, to erect *Stoneheng*. If the *Britans*, once attaining the *Romane* manner of *Architecture*, in any ſucceeding times had expelled the *Romans*, and been triumphant; ſome probable reaſon, at leaſt, *Anonymus* might have alledged, towards advancing his opinion. But *Boadicia* and her *Complices* overthrown, the *Roman* Power in this Iſland encreaſing dayly, and the liberty of the *Britans* as faſt declining, no following *ſeaſon* could be opportunely favourable, for undertaking ſuch a work by them; the erecting whereof, yea the ſole endeavouring to commemorate by ſuch publick means, ſo mortall an enemy to the *Romans* as *Boadicia*: nothing but the deareſt lives of the bold attempters, could, certainly, expiate. The *Temple* upon Mount *Cœlius* at *Rome*, begun to *Claudius* ſacred memory by *Agrippina*, was deſtroyed to the very foundations by *Nero*. If then, inſulting *Agrippina* might not erect a memorable ſtructure, to the glory of her deceaſed *Cæſar*; whom the *Senate* and *People* of *Rome*, in all ſolemne manner deified: What oppreſſed *Britan*, durſt undertake the raiſing a publick Monument to the honour of vanquiſhed *Boadicia*, whom the State (in all reaſon)

Suet. in Veſpaſ.

reaſon) for ever declared enemy to the *Roman* Empire? And though, after a long ſucceſſion of years, the *Romans* abandoned this Iſland, yet, when departed, the *Britans* were left in ſuch deplorable condition, (at large declared before) that, albeit *her name* never ſo glorious among them, they had much more to do, in ſaving their own miſerable lives from plague, famine, and the ſword, then any opportunity, or ability to erect whatever Monument to the glory of *Boadicia*. But, of this enough; the invalidity of *Anonymus* opinion eſpecially reſpected. The diſcovering the originall foundation of an *Antiquity* ſo famous, being not to be enforced by jealous ſuſpicions, raiſed upon bare and groundleſſe conjectures.

THIS *Antiquity* (call'd by *Henry Huntingdon*, *The ſecond*: by *Poly-olbion*

——*Firſt wonder of the land*)

becauſe the *Architraves* are ſet upon the heads of the upright ſtones, and hang (as it were) in the air, is generally known by the name of *Stone-heng*. It is ſited upon the Plain in the County of *Wiltſhire* in *England*, not far from *Ambreſbury* (the foundations of whoſe ancient buildings, frequently digged up, render it to have been in times paſt a *Town* of no ſmall fame) ſix miles at leaſt from new *Saliſbury* northwards.

The whole work, in generall, being of a circular form, is one hundred and ten foot diameter, double winged about without a roof, anciently environed with a deep Trench, ſtill appearing about thirty foot broad. So that, betwixt it, and the work it ſelf, a large and void ſpace of ground being left, it had, from the Plain, three open entrances, the moſt conſpicuous thereof lying North-eaſt. At each of which, was raiſed, on the outſide of the Trench aforeſaid, two huge ſtones gate-wiſe, parallel whereunto, on the inſide two others of leſſe proportion. The inner part of the work, conſiſting of an *Exagonall* figure, was raiſed, by due ſymmetry, upon the baſes of four equilaterall triangles, (which formed the whole ſtructure) this inner part likewiſe was

double,

double, having, within it alſo, another *Exagon* raiſed, and all that part within the Trench ſited upon a commanding ground, eminent, and higher by much, then any of the Plain lying without, and, in the midſt thereof, upon a foundation of hard chalk, the work it ſelf was placed. Inſomuch, from what part ſoever they came unto it, they roſe by an eaſie aſcending hill.

Which, that it may be the more clearly demonſtrated, (being by me, with no little pains, and charge meaſured, and the foundations thereof diligently ſearched) I have reduced into *Deſign*, not onely as the ruine thereof now appears, but as (in my judgement) it was in its priſtine perfection. And that the groundplot, with the uprights, and profyle of the whole work may the more diſtinctly be underſtood, I have purpoſely counterſigned each *Deſign* of them with *Numbers*, and the particular parts thereof with *Letters*.

Nu. 1

Signifies the Plant of the whole work in generall, with the Trench round about it, drawn by a ſmall ſcale, that it may be ſeen all at one view.

A

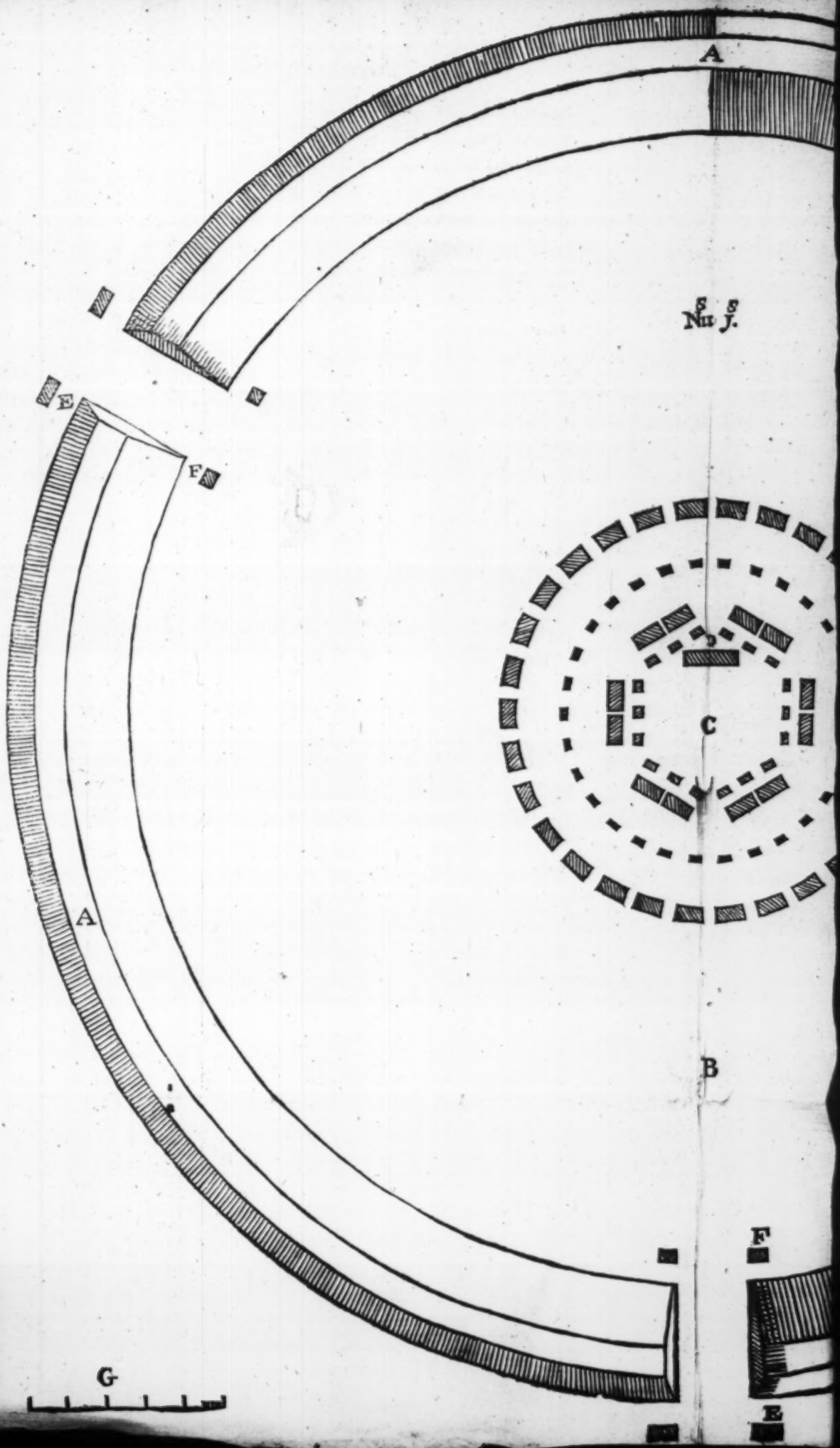
The Trench.

B

The Intervall betwixt the Trench and Work.

C

The Work it ſelf; in the inmoſt part whereof, there is a ſtone appearing not much above the ſurface of the earth, (and lying towards the Eaſt) four foot broad, and ſixteen foot in length. Which, whether it might be an *Altar* or no, I leave to the judgement of others, becauſe ſo overwhelmed with the ruines of the Work, that I could make no ſearch after it, but even with much difficulty, took the aforeſaid proportion thereof. Yet for my part, I can apprehend no valid reaſon to the contrary, except that the whole conſtructure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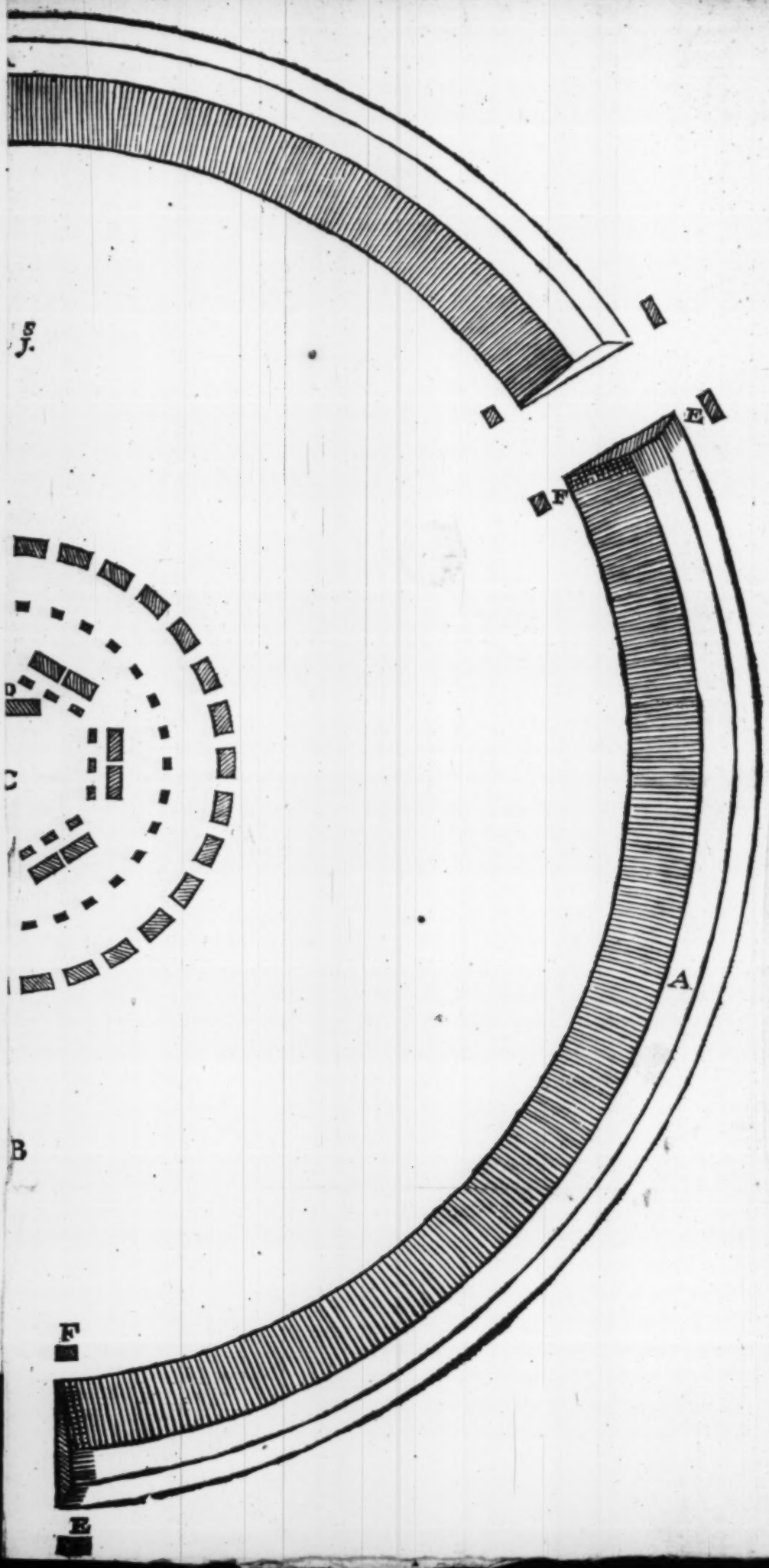
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ſtructure being circular in form, the Altar ſhould rather have been placed upon the center of the Circle, then enclining to the circumference. Nevertheleſſe it cannot be denied, but being ſo ſited, the *Cell* (as I may call it) was thereby left more free, for the due performance of thoſe ſeverall ſuperſtitious rites, which their Idolatry led them to. Beſides, though the *Altare* amongſt the *Ancients* was exalted and raiſed ſomwhat high above the earth; yet, their *Ara* was made quadrangular, not very high, and as ſome will have it cloſe to the ground, being conſecrated as well to the ſupernall as infernall Deities: and therefore in reſpect of the form, it may hold well enough it was anciently an Altar. *Roſin. lib. 2.*

D

The ſuppoſed Altar.

E

The great ſtones which made the entrances from the outſide of the Trench, ſeven foot broad, three foot thick, and twenty foot high.

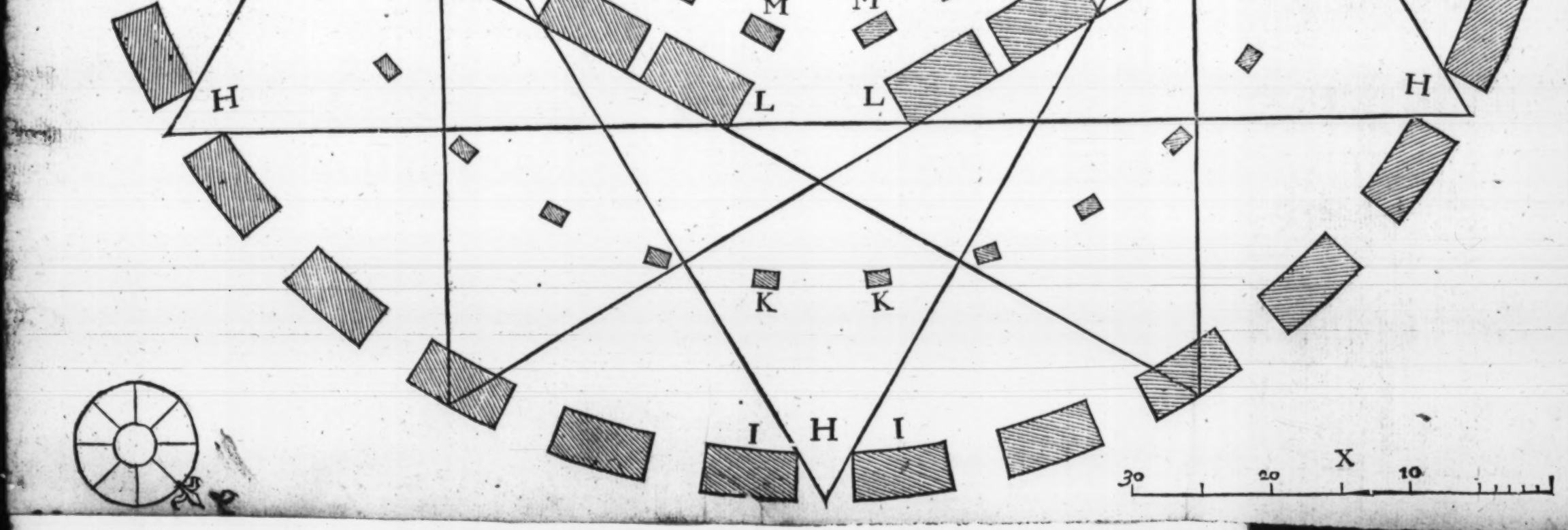
F

The parallel ſtones, on the inſide of the Trench, four foot broad, and three foot thick; but they lie ſo broken, and ruined by time, that their proportion in height cannot be diſtinguiſht, much leſſe exactly meaſured.

G

The ſcale of fifty foot.

The *Deſign* follows.


H
L
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M
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H
K
K
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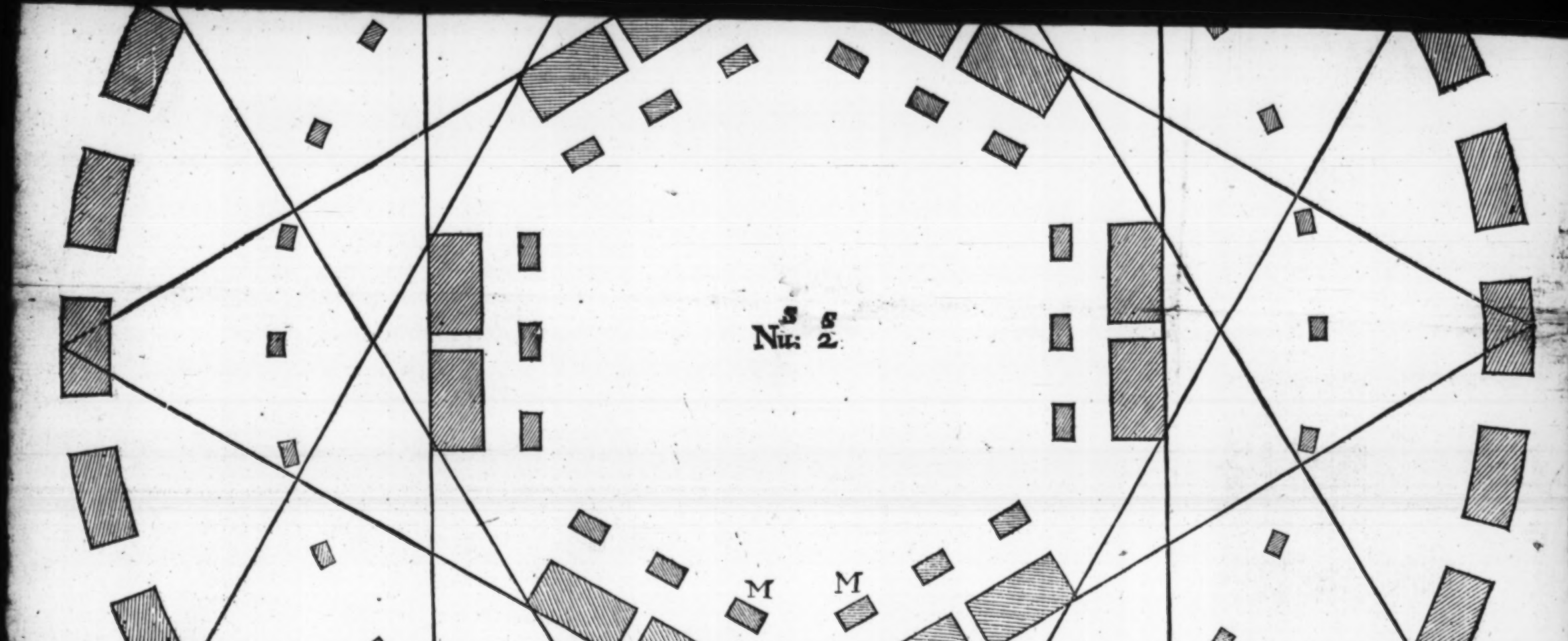
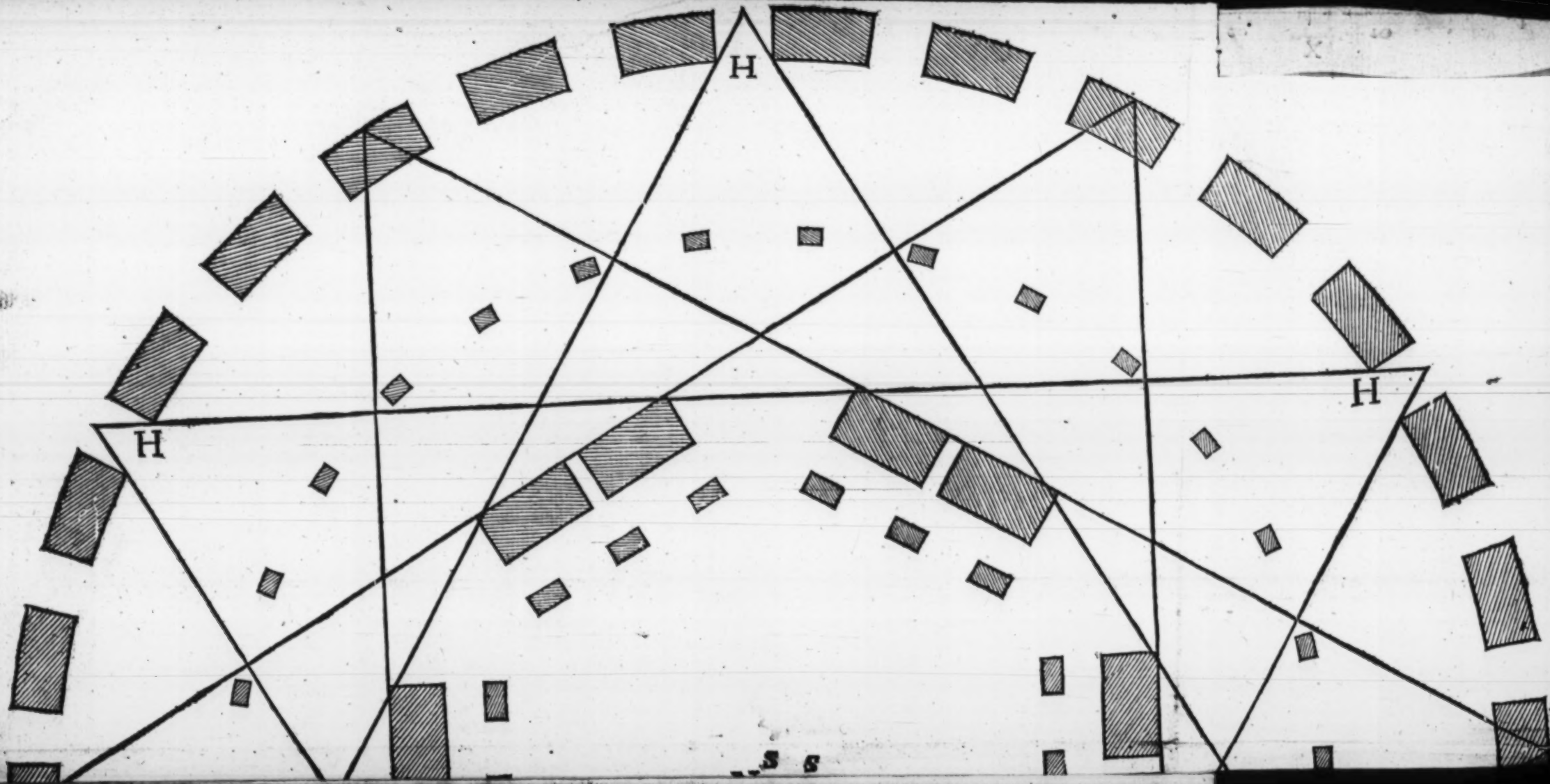
30
20
X
10


S S
Nu: 2
M M


H
H
H

H

Nu. 2

The Groundplot of the work, as when firſt built, in a greater form, with the foure equilaterall triangles making the *Scheame,* by which the whole work was compoſed.

H

The ſix principall entrances, three whereof directly oppoſite to thoſe of the Trench.

I

The ſtones which made the outward Circle, ſeven foot in breadth; three foot and an half thick, and fifteen foot and an half high: each ſtone having two tenons mortaiſed into the *Architrave,* continuing upon them, throughout the whole circumference. For, theſe *Architraves,* being joynted directly in the middle of each of the perpendicular ſtones that their weight might have an equall bearing, and upon each ſide of the joynt a tenon wrought, (as remains yet to be ſeen) it may poſitively be concluded thereby, the *Architrave* continued round about this outward circle.

K

The ſmaller ſtones of the inner circle, one foot and an half in bredth, one foot thick, and ſix foot high. Theſe had no *Architraves* upon them, but were raiſed perpendicular, of a pyramidall form. That, there was no *Architrave* upon theſe, may be hence concluded, the ſtones being too ſmall to carry ſuch a weight, the ſpaces being alſo too wide, to admit of an *Architrave* upon them without danger of breaking, and being but ſix foot high, there could not, poſſibly, be a convenient head-height remaining for a paſſage underneath, eſpecially, conſidering fully the greatneſſe of the whole work.

L

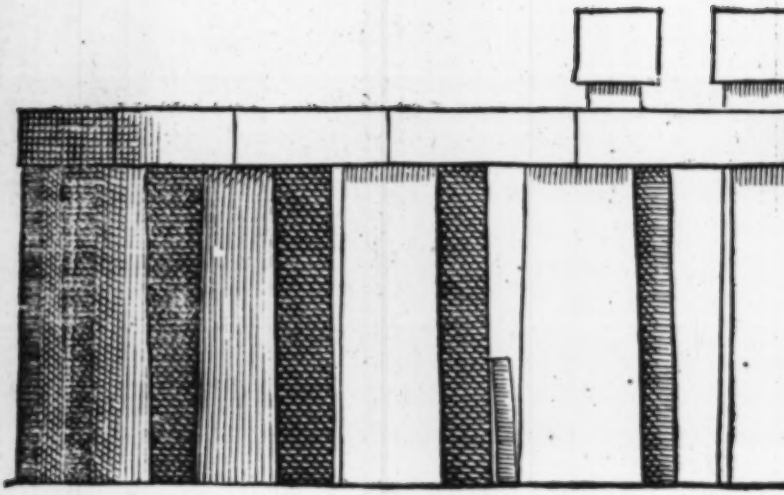
The ſtones of the greater *Hexagon*, ſeven foot and an half in breadth, three foot nine inches thick, and twenty foot high, each ſtone having one tenon in the middle.

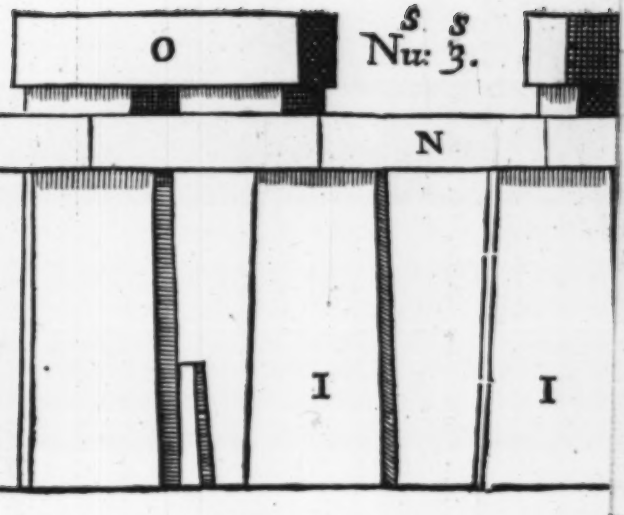
M

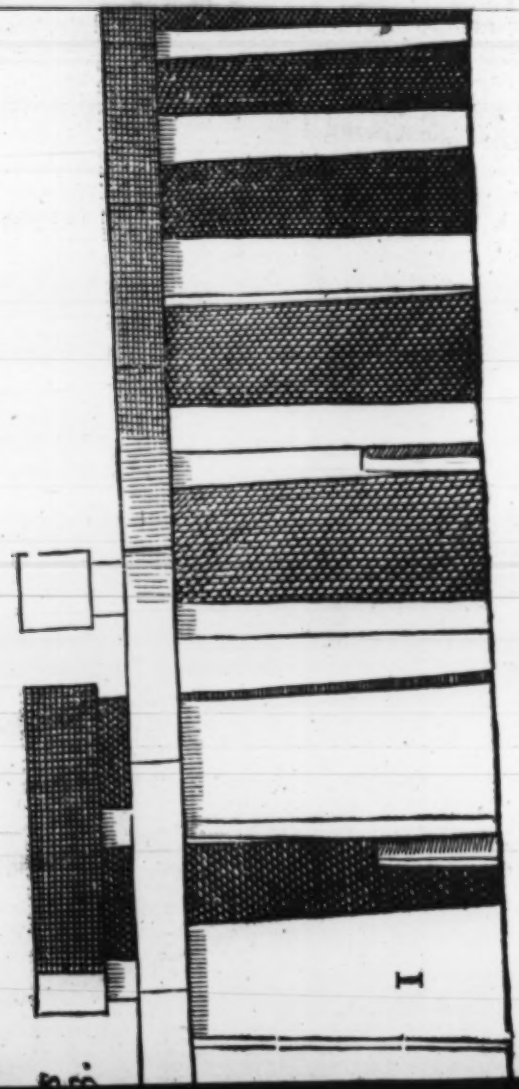
The ſtones of the *Hexagon* within, two foot ſix inches in breadth, one foot and an half thick, and eight foot high, in form pyramidall, like thoſe of the inner circle.

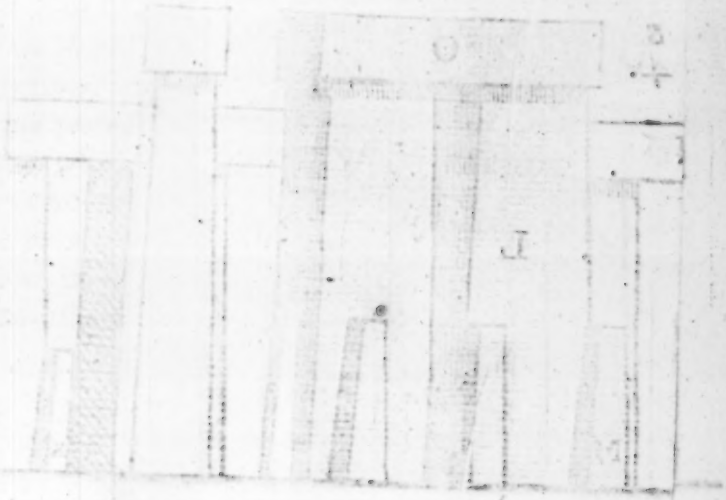
The Scale which hath this mark, *X*, is of thirty foot, by which likewiſe all the enſuing *Deſigns* are drawn.

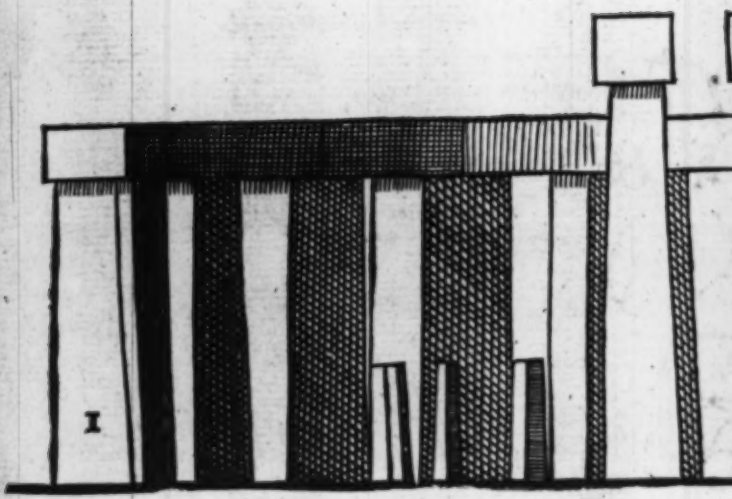
The *Deſign* follows.

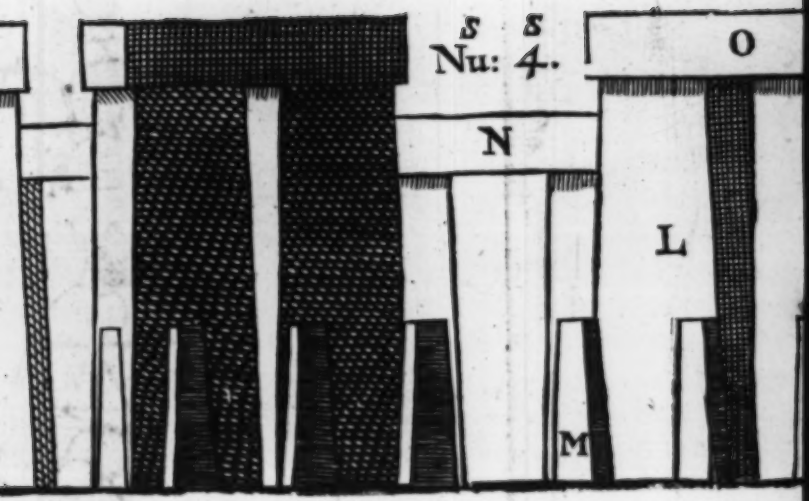



O
S S
Nu: 3.
N
I
I






I


S S
Nu: 4.
O
N
L
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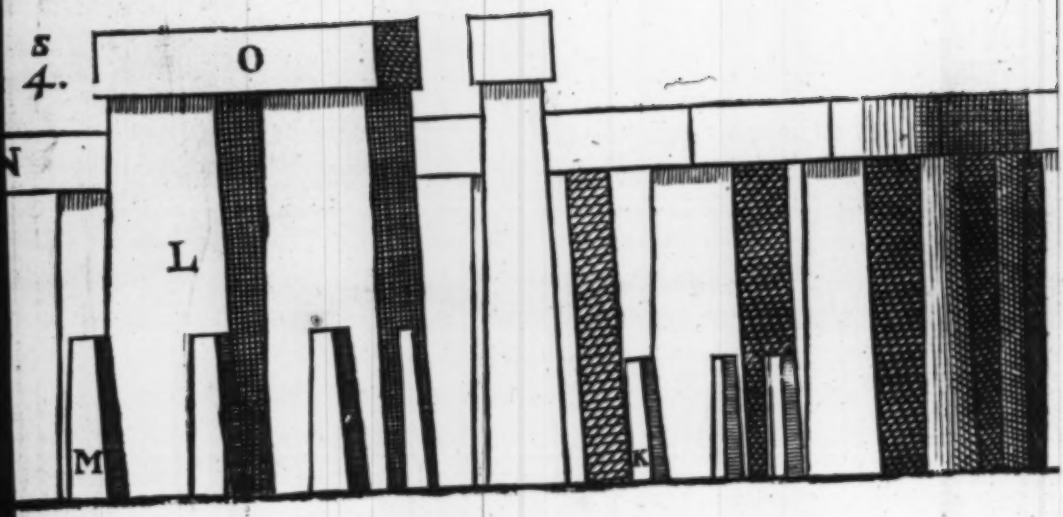

5
4.
O
N
L
M
K

Nu. 3

The upright of the work, as when entire, in which the perpendicular ſtones of the outward circle, are counterſigned with the Letter *I*, as in the groundplot.

N

The *Architrave* lying round about upon them, being mortaiſed into them, and joynted in the middle of each of the perpendicular ſtones. This *Architrave* is three foot and an half broad, and two foot and an half high.

O

The *Architrave* lying on the top of the great ſtones of the *Hexagon*, and mortaiſed alſo into them, ſixteen foot long, three foot nine inches broad, and three foot four inches high. This *Architrave* continuing onely from ſtone to ſtone, left betwixt every two and two, a void ſpace free to the Air uncovered. For, if they had been continued throughout the whole *Hexagon*, then neceſſarily there muſt have been two tenons upon each of the ſaid ſtones, as thoſe of the outward circle had, but being diſpoſed as aforeſaid, that one, which was in the middle, and yet remains apparent, was ſufficient for the thing intended.

Nu. 4

The Profyle, or cut, through the middle of the work, as entire, counterſigned with the Letters of the Groundplot.

The *Deſigns* follow.

Nu. 5

Nu. 3

The upright of the work, as when entire, in which the perpendicular ſtones of the outward circle, are counterſigned with the Letter *I*, as in the groundplot.

N

The *Architrave* lying round about upon them, being mortaiſed into them, and joynted in the middle of each of the perpendicular ſtones. This *Architrave* is three foot and an half broad, and two foot and an half high.

O

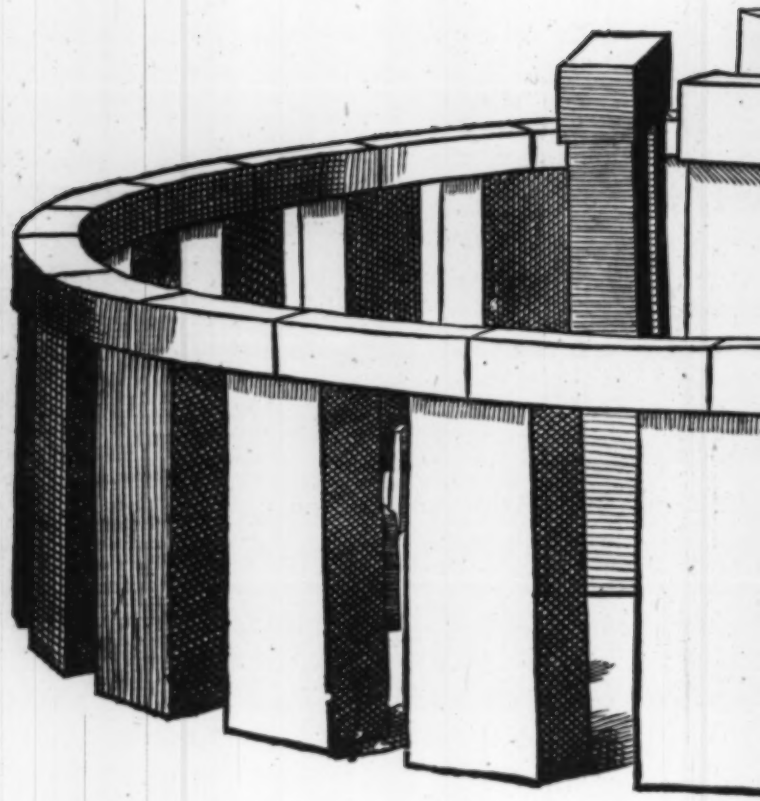
The *Architrave* lying on the top of the great ſtones of the *Hexagon*, and mortaiſed alſo into them, ſixteen foot long, three foot nine inches broad, and three foot four inches high. This *Architrave* continuing onely from ſtone to ſtone, left betwixt every two and two, a void ſpace free to the Air uncovered. For, if they had been continued throughout the whole *Hexagon*, then neceſſarily there muſt have been two tenons upon each of the ſaid ſtones, as thoſe of the outward circle had, but being diſpoſed as aforeſaid, that one, which was in the middle, and yet remains apparent, was ſufficient for the thing intended.

Nu. 4

The Profyle, or cut, through the middle of the work, as entire, counterſigned with the Letters of the Groundplot.

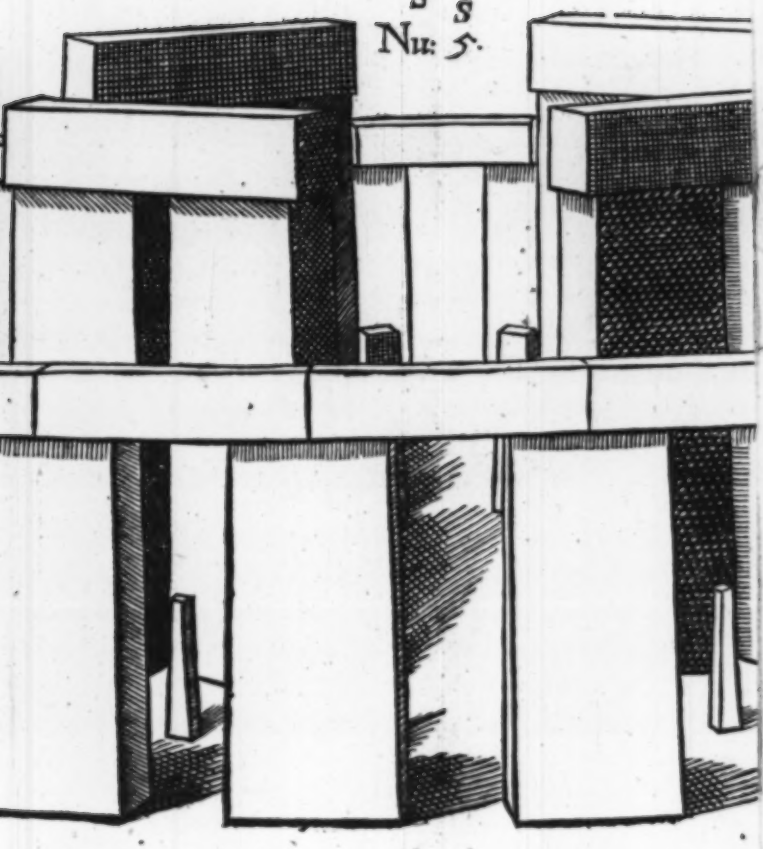
The *Deſigns* follow.

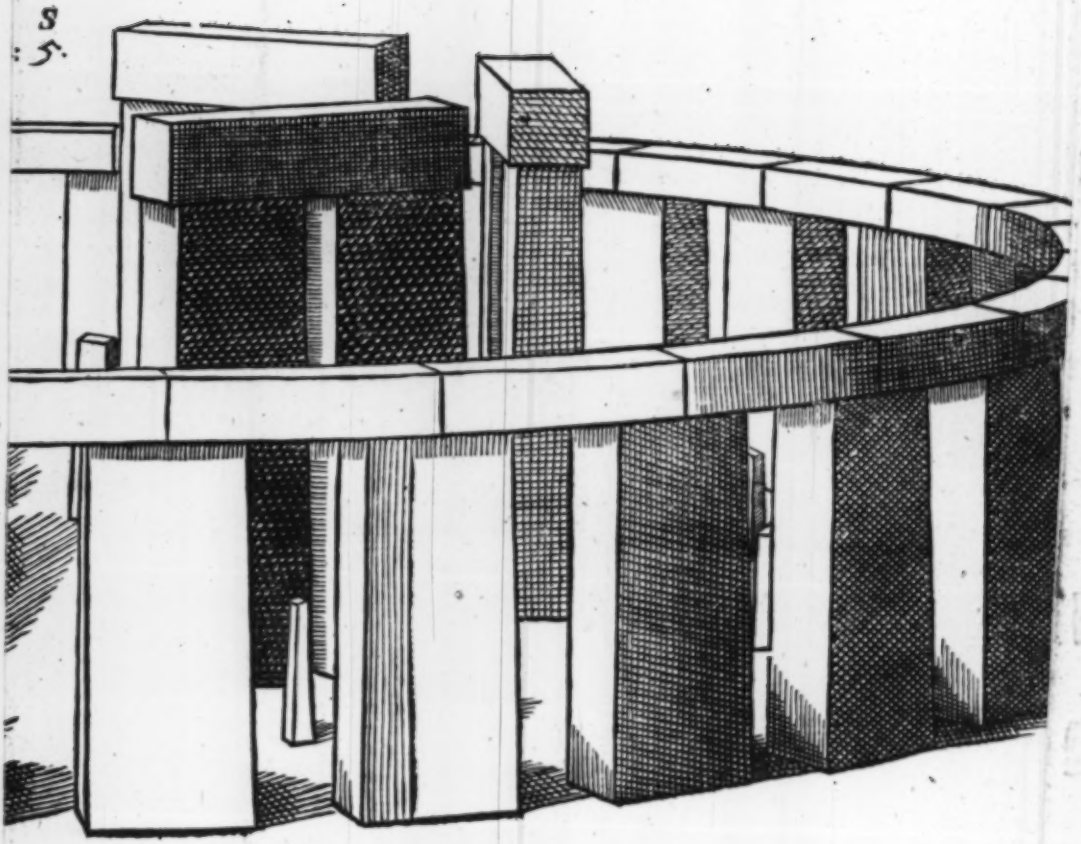
Nu. 5

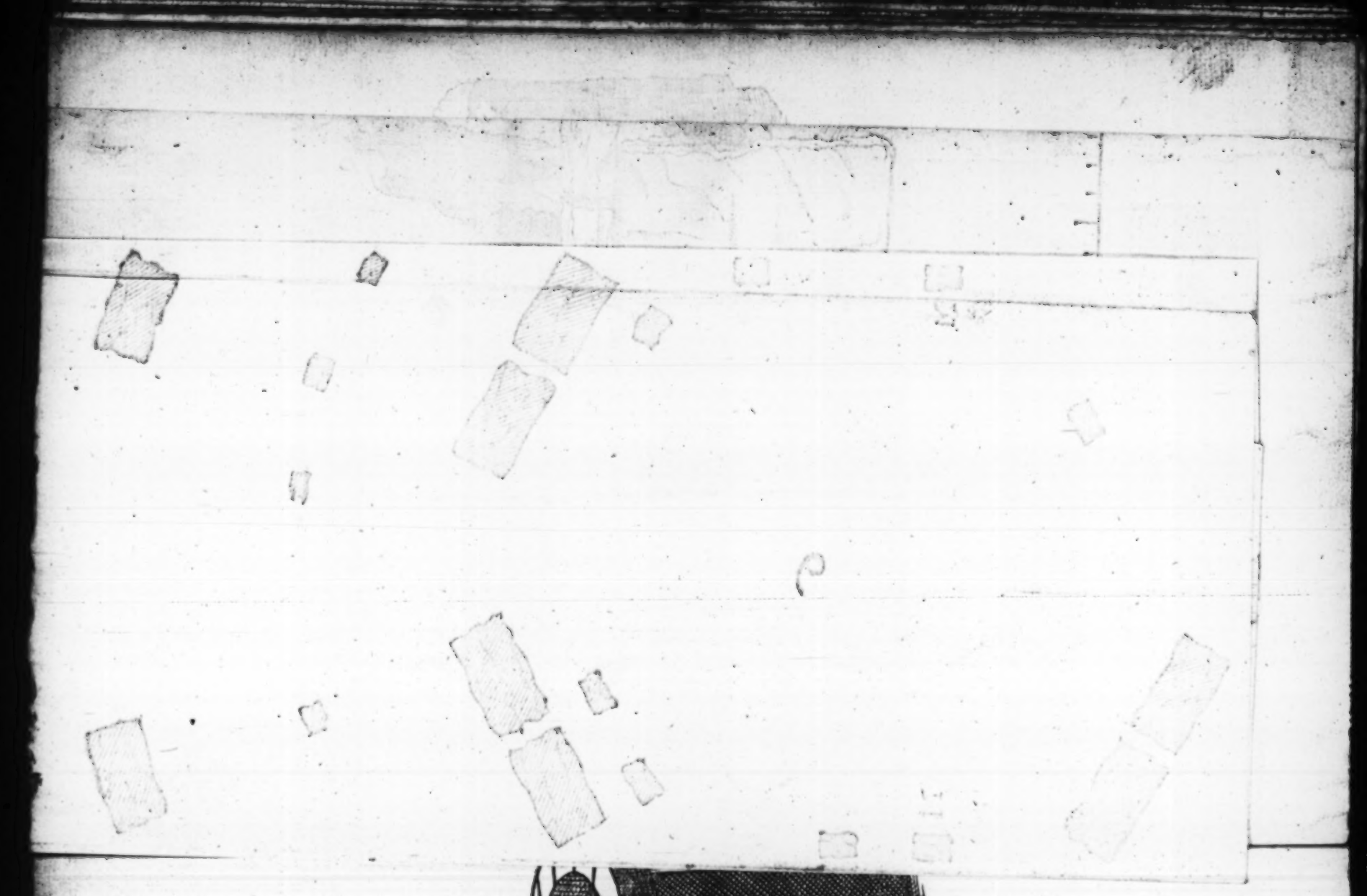


S S

Nu: 5.







L
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6
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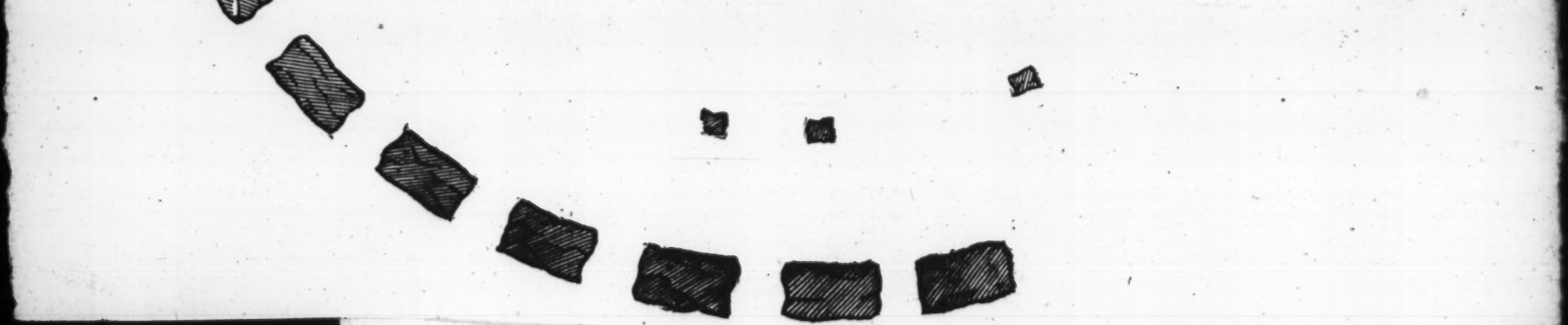
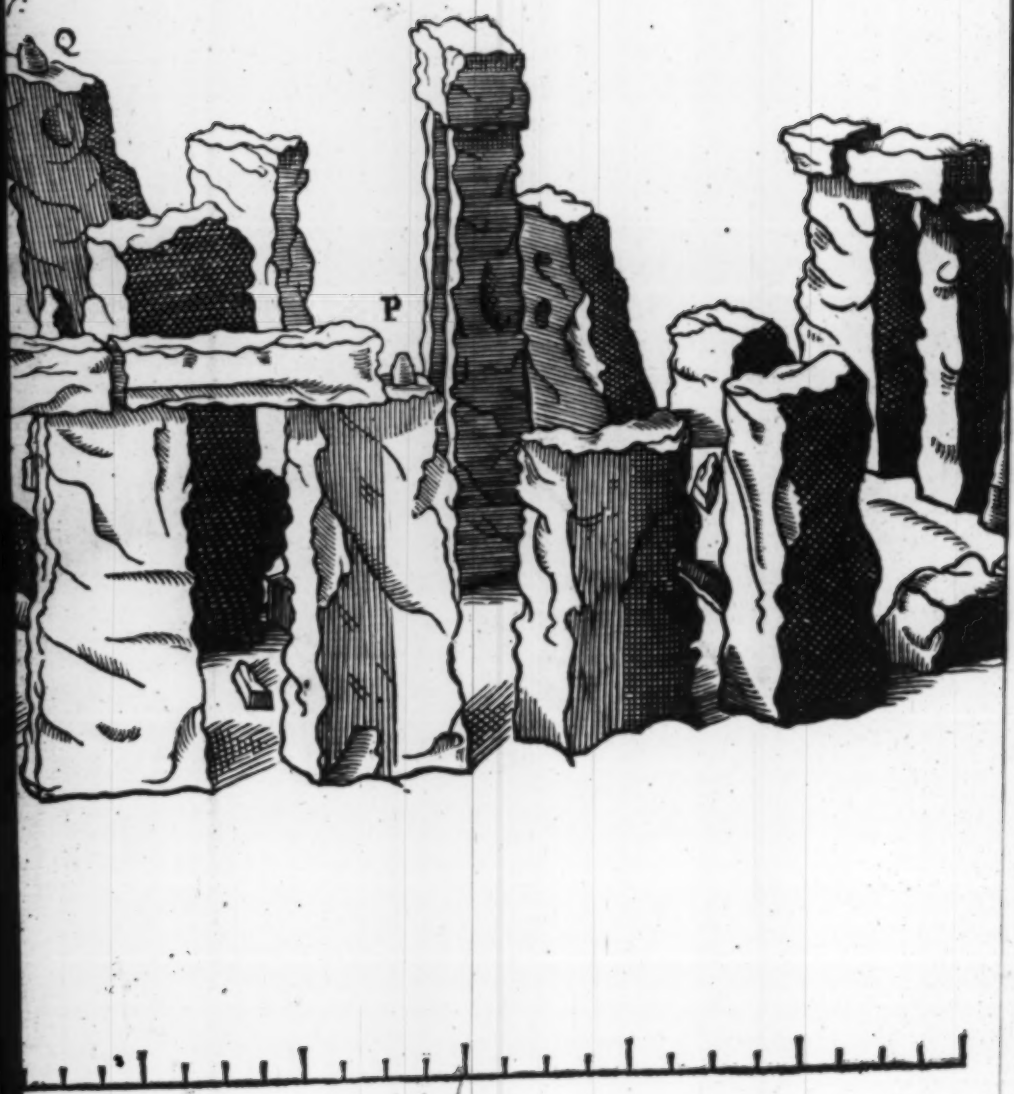


S s
Nu 7:
Q
R


Q
P

Nu. 5

The whole work in *Proſpective*, as when entire, whereby the generall compoſure of the particular parts of the uprights, are together all ſeen: and, by which alſo, the ſtately Aſpect, and magnificent greatneſſe thereof, are fully, and more apparently conſpicuous.

Nu. 6

The Groundplot of the work, as it now ſtands, counterſigned with the ſame Letters by which the Plant marked Nu. 2 is deſcribed. The ſtones of the greater *Hexagon*, and outward circle, after ſo long conteſt with the violence of time, and injury of weather, are for the moſt part ſtanding at this day; which, though not all at their full height, as when firſt ſet up, yet the Footſteps nevertheleſſe, of ſo many of them as expreſt in the *Deſign*, are ſtill remaining in their proper places. Thoſe of the inner circle, and leſſer *Hexagon*, not only expoſed to the fury of all devouring Age, but to the rage of men likewiſe, have been more ſubject to ruine. For, being of no extraordinary proportions, they might eaſily be beaten down, or digged up, and at pleaſure, made uſe of for other occaſions. Which, I am the rather enduced to beleeve, becauſe, ſince my firſt meaſuring the work, not one fragment of ſome then ſtanding, are now to be found.

Nu. 7

The Ruine yet remaining drawn in *Proſpective*.

P

The manner of the tenons, of a round form, mortaiſed into the *Architrave* of the outward Circle.

The

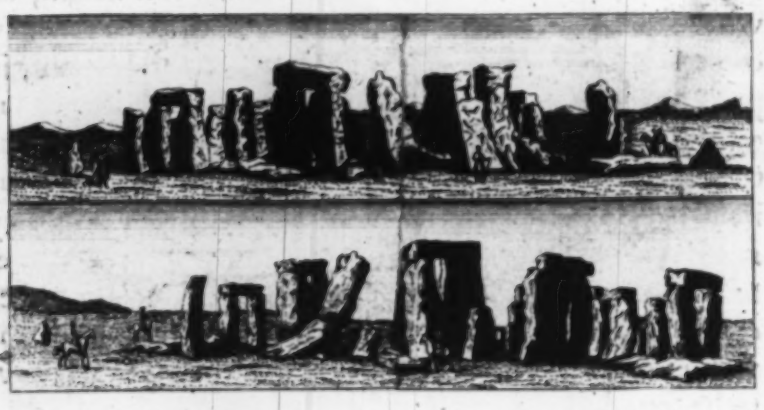
Q

The tenons of like form in the middle of the ſtones of the greater *Hexagon.*

R

The Engliſh foot (by which the work it ſelf was meaſured) divided into twelve inches, and each inch ſubdivided into four parts.

The *Deſigns* follow.



Hitherto, upon what occaſion *Stoneheng* built (you may eaſily perceive) is very doubtfull, the true Hiſtory of thoſe times, when firſt erected, and by which the memory of things eſpecially made over to ſucceeding Ages, being either not written, or if written, utterly loſt. Likewiſe, as for what uſe ſet up, not yet known; ſo, by whom alſo founded, is equally uncertain.

You cannot but remember, in what manner the ancient Inhabitants of this Iſland lived, before reduced to civility by the *Romans* I have formerly delivered: alſo, how they were firſt inſtructed by them, in ſeverall *Arts* and *Sciences*, whereof the *Britans* wholly ignorant, before the *Romans* arrivall here, and teaching them. I have given you in like manner, a full deſcription of this *Antiquity*, whereby doubtleſſe it appears to you, as in truth it is, a work built with much *Art*, *Order* and *Proportion*. That the ancient *Britans*, before the diſcovery of this Iſland by the *Romans*, could not be the *Founders* thereof, by the former reaſons, I ſuppoſe, is clearly manifeſted. For, where *Art* is not, nothing can be performed by *Art*. As, for that which concerns the *Britiſh* Nobility, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, or *Boadicia*, enough already.

It reſts now, to endeavor the diſcovering by whom *Stoneheng* built; in what time, and, for what uſe anciently erected. But, it is not expected (I hope) any abſolute reſolution ſhould be given by me, in ſo doubtfull a matter; for, *as it hath been always lawfull for every man in ſuch like matters* (ſaith *Camden*) *both to think what he will, and relate what others have thought*: So pardon me, if I take upon me, what others have done before me, and interpoſe mine own opinion alſo, grounded nevertheleſſe upon ſuch Authorities, cuſtomes, and concurrence of time, as very probably may ſatisfie judicious and impartiall Readers.

Touching the *Founders* of *Stoneheng*. Among the *Ægyptian Antiquities*, or thoſe *Eaſtern* Nations from whom the *Græcians* deduced their learning, I find not any ſuch compoſure ever uſed: or with the *Greeks* themſelves, mention made of

any work conformable to this, in point of *Order.* (as the moſt converſant in thoſe Hiſtories cannot contradict)

Pauſan. fo. 392. I read nevertheleſſe, in *Pauſanias*, of a *Temple* amongſt the *Eleans* erected without walls: *novam quandam in* Eleorum *foro templi formam vidi. I ſaw* (ſaith he) *in the market place of the* Eleans, *a Temple of a new form. Modicæ eſt ædes altitudinis, ſine parietibus, tectum è quercu dolatis fulcientibus tibicinibus. A low thing, without walls, having the roof ſupported with props of oaken timber* (inſtead, it ſeems, of Columnes) *neatly wrought.*

Idem fo. 75: He remembers a *Temple* alſo in *Attica* ſacred to *Jove* without a roof. The *Thracians* (as I read likewiſe) uſed to build *Temples* dedicated to *Sol, of a round form, open in the middle*, and alſo without a *roof*: by the form, or roundneſſe thereof, they ſignified the Suns figure; by making them open, and roofleſſe, they expreſſed his ſurmounting, and dilating light equally to all things. *Thraces ſoli rotunda templa faciebant* (ſaith *Daniel Barbaro*) *in medio ſub divo, & aperta erant: hac forma Solis figuram innuebant: quòd autem aperta eſſent, & ſine tecto, innuebant Solem ſupra omnia eſſe, & lumen ſuum diffundere.*

In Vitr. lib. 4.

Howſoever, conſidering what magnificence the *Romans* in proſperous times anciently uſed in all works, both publick, and private: their knowledge and experience in all *Arts* and *Sciences*: their powerfull means for effecting great works: together with their *Order* in building, and manner of workmanſhip accuſtomed amongſt them: *Stoneheng* in my judgement was a work, built by the *Romans*, and they the ſole *Founders* thereof. For, if look upon this *Antiquity*, as an admired and magnificent building, who more magnificent then the *Romans*? *Eſſi ſoli frà i populi dell' univerſo, con ogni termine di magnificenza edificarono tutti i generi d'edifici. They only amongſt all the Nations of the Univerſe, erecting all ſorts of buildings, with all kinds of magnificence*, ſaith *Scamozzo* in the firſt Book of his *Architecture*. If conſider the *Art*, and elegant diſpoſition thereof, all *Arts* and *Sciences* (we muſt know) were in full perfection with them, and *Architecture*, which amongſt the *Greeks* was youthfull only, and vigo-

Scamoz. lib. 1. fo. 9.

rous

rous; under the *Romans* their *Empire* grown to the full height became manly and perfect, not in *inventions, and elegancy of forms alone, but alſo in exquiſiteneſſe of Art, and excellency of materials. Salito al colmo l'imperio* Romano, *ella pure divenne virile e perfetta: non ſolo nelle inventioni, e nella elleganza delle forme, mà parimente nell' eſquiſitezza dell' artificio, e nella ſingolarità della materia.* As the ſame Author hath it. If take notice of their power and ways by which they effected ſuch goodly ſtructures, their means were not ordinary according to the common cuſtome of other *People*; and why? becauſe, beſides particular *Artiſans* practiſed in ſeverall *Arts*, they employed in thoſe their works whole bodies of their own *Armies*, and whatever Nations ſubdued by them. *The* Romans *were wont to exerciſe therein* (ſaith *Camden*) *their Souldiers, and the common multitude, upon great policy doing the ſame, leſt being idle they ſhould grow factious, and affect alteration in the State. The* Britans *complained* (ſaith *Tacitus* likewiſe) *corpora & manus contriviſſe, that their bodies and hands were worn out, and conſumed by the* Romans, *in bringing to effect their great and admired undertakings*: in that kind employing their ſlaves and priſoners alſo, as holding it, rather then by violent deaths to cut them off; more profitable for the *Commonwealth*, more exemplary for others, and far greater puniſhment for their Priſoners, to enjoyn them continuall labour. *Camden fo.64.*

If obſerve *their Order* in building; the only *Order* of *Architecture*, which *Italy* may truly glory in the invention of, is the *Tuſcane Order*, ſo called, becauſe firſt found out by the *Tuſcans*, that in a more then ordinary manner they might reverence their *Deities* in *Temples* compoſed thereof. (*Janus* their firſt King, according to the common opinion of divers ancient Hiſtorians, being the firſt of all others, that built *Temples* to the Gods) Which *Order*, though firſt uſed by the *Tuſcans*, certain it is, the *Romans* took from them, and brought it in uſe with other *Arts*, in ſeverall parts of the world, as their conqueſts led them on. Now of this *Tuſcan Order*, a plain, grave, and humble manner of *Building*, very ſolid and ſtrong *Stoneheng* principally conſiſts. So that, ob- *Choul. fo.5.*

ſerving the *Order* whereof *Stoneheng* built, there being no ſuch Elements known in this *Iſland* as diſtinct *Orders* of *Architecture*, untill the *Romans* introduced them, the very work it ſelf, of ſo great *Antiquity*, declares the *Romans Founders* thereof. Who, that hath right judgement in *Architecture*, knows not the difference, and by the manner of their works how to diſtinguiſh *Ægyptian*, *Greek*, and *Roman* ſtructures of old, alſo *Italian*, *French* and *Dutch* buildings in theſe modern times? Is not our Shipping by the mould thereof, known throughout the world *Engliſh* built? Who did not by the very *Order* of the work, aſſure himſelf, the body of the Church of S. *Paul London*, from its Tower to the Weſt end anciently built by the *Saxons*: as the Quire thereof, from the ſaid Tower to the Eaſt end by the *Normans*, it being *Gothick* work? yet that there might be a *Roman Temple* in old time ſtanding in that place, I will not deny, the numbers of Oxe-heads digged up and anciently ſacrificed there, ſetting all other reaſons aſide, ſo probably manifeſting the ſame. And in all likelihood, the *Romans* for ſo notable a ſtructure as *Stoneheng*, made choice of the *Tuſcane* rather then any other *Order*, not only as beſt agreeing with the rude, plain, ſimple nature of thoſe they intended to inſtruct, and uſe for which erected; but alſo, becauſe preſuming to challenge a certain kind of propriety therein, they might take occaſion thereby, to magnifie to thoſe then living the virtue of their *Anceſtors* for ſo noble an invention, and make themſelves the more renowned to poſterity, for erecting thereof, ſo well ordred a building.

Beſides, the *Order* is not only *Roman*, but the *Scheam* alſo (conſiſting of four equilaterall triangles, inſcribed within the circumference of a Circle) by which this work *Stoneheng* formed, was an *Architectonicall Scheam* uſed by the *Romans*. Whereof, I ſhall have more occaſion to ſpeak, when I come to ſet down, for what uſe this *Antiquity* at firſt erected.

Vitr. lib. 5.

Again, the *Portico* at *Stoneheng*, is made double, as in ſtructures of great magnificence the ancient *Romans* uſed: ſo at

the

the foot of the *Capitol* the *Temple* to *Jove the Thunderer*, built by *Auguſtus Cæſar*; ſo the *Pantheon* at *Athens*, royally adorned with one hundred and twenty vaſt columnes of rich *Phrygian* marble, by the *Emperour Adrian*. But, ſome may alledge, the *Romans* made the Pillars of their double *Portico's*, of one and the ſame ſymmetry, or very little different, which in this *Antiquity* otherwiſe appearing, cannot be a *Roman* work. To as much purpoſe it may be alledged the *Temple* of *Diana* at *Magneſia*, was no *Greek* work, becauſe the Pillars of the inner *Portico* were wholly left out. Yet it's true, the *Romans* uſually made them as is objected, and the reaſon was, becauſe of the weight the inner Pillars carried: now, in this work, no roof being to be ſuſtained, nor any manner of weight born up, though the judgement of the *Architect*, thereby to ſave labour and expence, ordered the ſtones making the *Portico* within, of a far leſſe proportion then thoſe of the outward circle, it retains nevertheleſſe the proper *Aſpect* (principally aim'd at by the ancient *Architects*) in uſe amongſt the *Romans*, and conſequently for ought alledged to the contrary by them built.

In this *Antiquity*, there is a *Portico* alſo (as I may rightly term it) within the *Cell*, or greater *Hexagon*, reduced likewiſe into the ſame figure. Now, that the *Romans* uſed to make *Portico's* on the inſide of their buildings, as well ſacred as ſecular, by the ruines of their *Baſilicaes* or Courts of *Judicature*; by that *Temple* without a roof anciently dedicated to *Jove* in Mount *Quirinalis*, now the *Horſe* Mount in *Rome*; by the *Temple of Bacchus* there of a round form, at this day conſecrate to S. *Agnes* without the gate *Viminalis*, manifeſtly appears. But in what ever ſtructures elſe the *Romans* uſed them, certain it is, within their moſt ſtately *Temples* which lay uncovered, and had no roofs, they always made ſuch *Portico's*; and though in other *Temples* they ſometimes diſpos'd them, yet from *Vitruvius* it may be gathered, they properly belonged to the *Aſpect Hypæthros*, which was uncovered and roofleſſe as this *Antiquity Stoneheng*, he peremptorily aſſigning *Portico's* to be made on the inſide of no kind of

Temples,

Vitr. lib. 3. cap. 1. *Temples*, but thoſe; His words are, *Hypæthros in interiore parte habet columnas, remotas à parietibus ad circuitionem (ut porticus) periſtyliorum. Temples open to the air, and without roofs, have columnes on the inſide, diſtant from the walls, as Courts Portico's about them.* Even, after the ſame *decorum* as at *Stoneheng*.

Furthermore, if caſt an eye upon *their* artifice and manner of workmanſhip, *Stoneheng* appears built directly agreeable to thoſe rules, which the *Romans* obſerved in great works. For, the *Roman Architects*, in diſtinguiſhing the manner of their *Temples*, always obſerved (as *Vitruvius* in his third book teacheth us) the greater the Columnes were, the cloſer they ſet them together; ſo in this *Antiquity*, the ſtones being great, the ſpaces betwixt them are likewiſe narrow.

The *Architraves* alſo, in this work were all of them ſet without morter, and fixed upon the upright ſtones by tenons (as formerly deſcribed) in the very ſame manner, as in great ſtructures, where the ſtones ſolid, and of more then ordinary greatneſſe, the *Romans* were wont to doe. *They laid them without any unctuous incorporating matter, nullo fulta glutino*, ſaith *Leo Baptiſta Albertus*. And divers examples of this kind might be brought, I my ſelf amongſt other *Antiquities* have ſeen the ruines of an *Aquæduct*, built by the *Romans* in *Provynce*, running through a deep valley, and raiſed in height equall to the adjacent Mountains, upon huge Arches fifty eight foot wide, the ſtones whereof, being of extraordinary ſcantlings, were laid without any cement or morter, to incorporate them with the reſt of the work. And, where occaſion guided their judgements to the obſervance of this rule, they united and compacted the ſtones together, by certain ligatures or holdfaſts, (the *Italians* call them *Perni*, pegs or tops, for ſuch they reſemble, and we, from the verb *tenere* to hold, not improperly calling them *tenons*) *quæ inferiores, & unà ſuperiores in lapides infixæ, cavatæ fuere, ne quid fortè protruſi ordines alteri ab alteris diſtrahantur. Which* (ſaith *Albertus*) *being formed in the inferiour ſtones, were hollowed or mortaiſed into thoſe above, leſt by any chance they ſhould ſtart one from another, and break the order of the work.* Here the *Florentine Architect* gives

Leo Bap. Alber. lib. 3.

Leo Bap. Alber. lib. 3.

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us the self same manner of banding stones, when the *Romans* laid them without morter, as if he had seen this very *Antiquity Stoneheng*.

Moreover, what ever footsteps of the *Romans* found in other places of this Island, it's not inconsiderately to be past over, that in *Wiltshire*, the County (as is said before) where our *Stoneheng* remains, *Roman Antiquities* are most perspicuous, not only, by the apparent testimonies of the coyns of their Emperors in divers places digged up, but by severall their encamping places yet to be seen, as *Leckham*, in times of yore a seat of the *Romans*: the place also where old *Salisbury* now sheweth it self, within six miles of *Stoneheng*: and within three miles thereof *Yanesbury* Castle, supposed a work of *Vespasians* when he conquered, and after kept in subjection the *Belgæ*, ancient inhabitants of that tract. Likewise the ruines nearer yet to *Stoneheng*, of a fortresse our Historians hold anciently a garrison of the *Romans*, and in many other forts of that Shire (both by their form and manner of making well known to have been *Roman*) the tract of their footing is yet left.

✗ Coins — See the remark below

Camden.

Speed.

But it is objected, If *Stoneheng* a *Roman* work, how comes it, no *Roman* Author makes mention of it? I answer, their Historians used not to commit to writing every particular work, or action the *Romans* performed: if so, how vast would their volumes have been? *Stoneheng* 'tis granted, is much admired by us, yet, how far more admirable works were the *Romans* Founders of, not mentioned in any of their ancient stories? That notable bridge invented and built by *Cæsar*, for passing his Army over the *Rhine*, himself at large describes, remembring little or nothing neverthelesse concerning divers other as great works in *Gaul* and *Batavia*, suppos'd to be performed by him also. *Dion*, *Herodian*, *Eutropius* and other their Historians tell us, the *Romans* built the so famed wall, commonly by us called the *Picts wall*, extending crosse over our Island from the *Irish* Sea to the *German* Ocean, above fourscore *Italian* miles in length, with many towers and fortresses erected upon it; when works of as great

✗ About the Year 1720 — H. Finch, late Earl of Winchelsea — caused search to be made under several of the largest (upright) Stones — at different parts of the building & actually found under one of them 3 or 4 large brass coins one was of Antoninus pius & one of Faustina senr — the others to much defaced to be ascertained with certainty tho abt the same period — the 4 coins now in the hands of John White of Newgate Street 1763 —

great admiration in *Britain* they have paſt in ſilence: thoſe wonderfull cauſeys made throughout the land, by dreining and drying up Fens, levelling hils, raiſing valleys, and paving them with ſtones of ſuch breadth, that Wains might without danger paſſe one by another, not any ancient *Roman* Author (for ought appears) directly mentioning. Yet, who doubts them *Roman* works? *I dare confidently avouch, the Romans by little and little founded and raiſed them up*, ſaith *Camden*. And why? mark I pray, becauſe, whilſt *Agricola* governed *Britain*, *Tacitus* tels us, *ſeverall ways were enjoyned*. If then, becauſe *Tacitus* affirms in generall terms only, *ſeverall ways enjoyned*, *Camden* confidently concludes them *Roman works*, no *Roman* Hiſtory otherwiſe remembring them; Why may it not, the ſame *Tacitus* telling us in like manner, *Agricola exhorted the Britans in private, and helpt them in common, to build Temples, Houſes, and Places of publick reſort*, as peremptorily be inferr'd, *Stoneheng* was a work built by the *Romans*, though not particularly remembred by them in their ſtories? In a word, *Temples* and places of publick reſort, the *Romans* built here, and were the firſt that did ſo, leaving it to after ages to find out by their *Manner* of *building*, *Order* in *building*, and *Power* and *Means* for *building*, ſuch lofty ruines, as appears in this *Antiquity*, could be remains of none but *Roman* building.

Cam. fo. 64.

Tacitus.
Beda.

The next thing to be enquired after, is, in what time *Stoneheng* built. Happily, about thoſe times, when the *Romans* having ſetled the Country here under their own *Empire*, and, together with bringing over *Colonies* reduced the naturall inhabitants of this Iſland unto the ſociety of civill life, by training them up in the liberall Sciences. For, *then alſo* (ſaith *Camden*) *did they furniſh the* Britans, *with goodly houſes, and ſtately buildings, in ſuch ſort, that the reliques and rubbiſh of their ruines, cauſe the beholders now, exceedingly to admire the ſame, and the common ſort of People plainly ſay, thoſe* Roman *works were made by Giants, of ſuch exceeding great admiration, and ſumptuous magnificence they are.*

Camden fo. 63.

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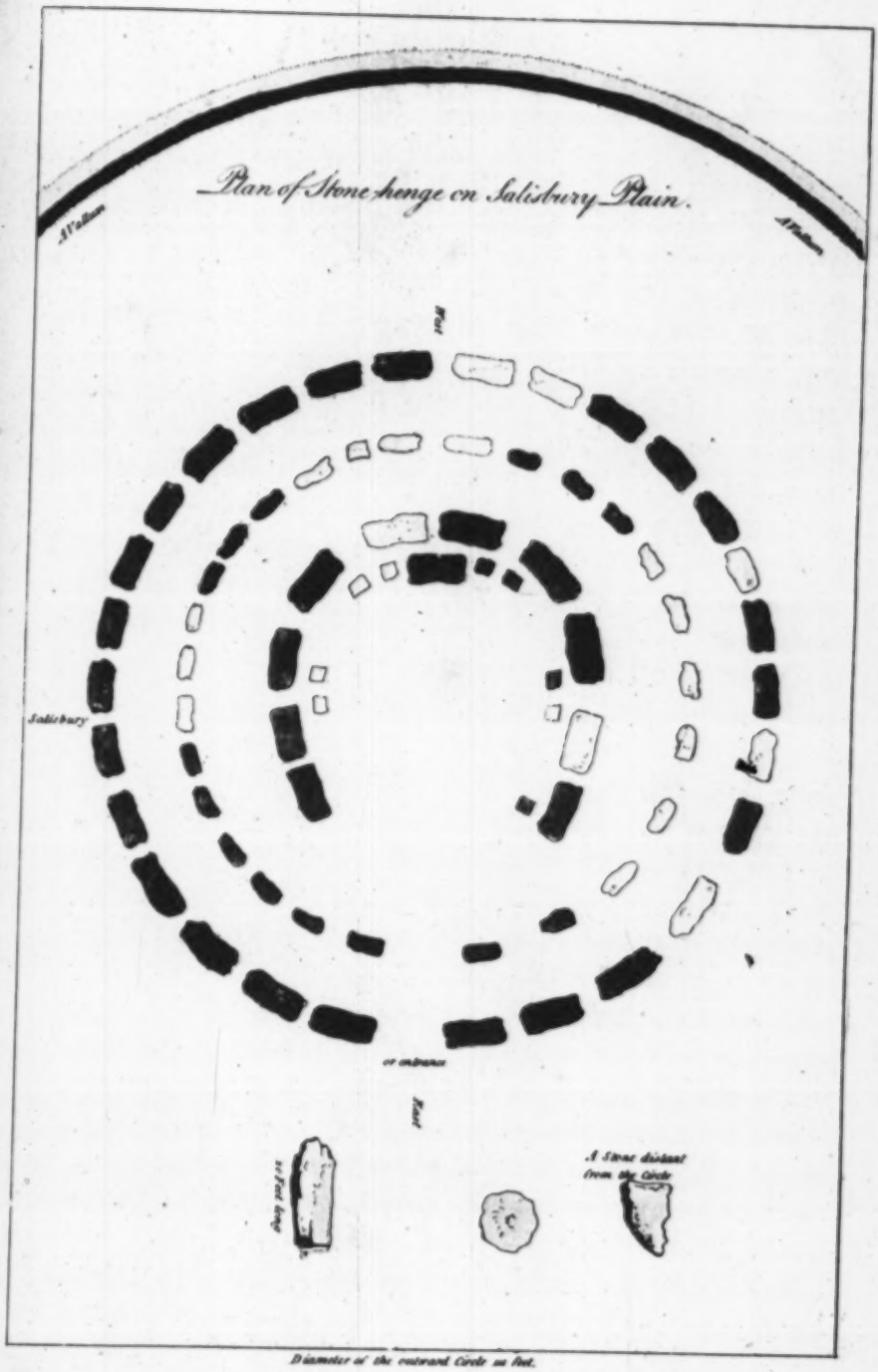
This relation of *Camdens*, reflects chiefly upon the time of *Agricola*; nevertheleſſe, that *Stoneheng* (though fabled Giants work) was then built, I dare not affirm: the great works of the *Romans*, brought to perfection in this Iſland, being not the work of a day. It hath been the invention of wiſe *Romans* of old, affecting civility, to raiſe goodly buildings here: but the preciſe times when, in things ſo far from all knowledge, cannot be with any certainty avouched. For my part, I ſhould chooſe to aſſign thoſe times for building thereof, when the *Romans* in their chief proſperity moſt flouriſhed here, and refer the firſt erection to the time betwixt *Agricolas* government formerly mentioned, and the reign of *Conſtantine* the Great: in order to which, the times rather ſomwhat after *Agricola*, if not during his own Lievtenancy, then next preceding *Conſtantine*. For, long before *Conſtantine* acquired the Soveraignty (which was not till the year of our Lord three hundred and ten) the magnificent ſplendor of that mighty *Empire* began ſenſibly to wane, and the ambition of the great Captains of *Rome*, (ſome few excepted) tended rather to make parties for obtaining the *Purple Robe*, then (after the manner of their anceſtors) to eterniſe their names by great and admirable works, or patronizing good *Arts*, for want whereof they began likewiſe to decay apace; *Serly* in his third Book ſpeaking of thoſe times, telling us, that *id temporis Architecti, ſi cum ſuperioribus conferantur, rudiores & ineptiores extitiſſe videntur. In thoſe days although there were many Architects, yet, compared with ſuch as lived in the preceding Ages, they were very rude and unskilfull.* Beſides, the condition wherein this Iſland was, divers years preceding *Conſtantine*, would not admit ſuch undertakings. For, by the civil diſcord of the *Romans*, the *Britans* taking occaſion to make frequent revolts, in hope to recover their loſt liberty, the *Romans* were put upon other manner of Councels then to think of building; namely to reduce the *Britans* to their wonted obedience, and keep the Province in ſome reaſonable quiet, by expelling the *Scots* and *Picts* (ſavage and perfidious *People* even from times

of old) making daily inroads and incurſions thereunto.

Now, as for theſe reaſons, it's not likely *Stoneheng* could be built in the times next before *Conſtantine*, ſo, by what follows, it will manifeſtly appear, it was not erected after his Reign. For, after his tranſplanting the ſeat of the Empire into the Eaſt, and the government of the then known world, under the *Romans*, diſtinguiſhed by *Eaſt* and *Weſtern* Emperours, a deluge of barbarous Nations (like ſo many Locuſts) ſwarmed over all. Who, as with their vaſt multitudes they oft had formerly attempted it, ſo, thence forward, till bringing that mighty Empire unto its finall and fatall period; and thereby utterly deſtroying in like manner all *Arts* and *Sciences*, together with *Architecture*, (not reſtored again, even in *Italy* it ſelf, untill, as formerly remembred) they never deſiſted. Moreover, in the times after *Conſtantine*, no *Temples* to Heathen *Deities* (ſuch as I ſhall make appear this *Antiquity Stoneheng* was) were erected here, they being times of defacing, rather then erecting idolatrous places. For, moſt of the ſucceeding Emperors becoming *Chriſtians*, the tempeſtuous ſtorms of perſecution were over, and the thick clouds of ſuperſtition beginning to be diſſolved by the bright beams of the Goſpel, and true light of CHRIST, every where *Temples* were ſhut up againſt falſe Gods, and ſet open to the true GOD. *Gildas.* According to that of *Gildas*, *No ſooner was the bluſtering tempeſt, and ſtorm of perſecution blown over, but the faithfull Chriſtians, who in the time of trouble and danger had hidden themſelves in woods, deſerts, and ſecret caves, being come abroad in open ſight, renovant Eccleſias ad ſolum uſque deſtructas, baſilicas ſanctorum martyrum fundant, conſtruunt, perficiunt &c. Churches ruinate to the very ground they reedifie, Temples of holy Martyrs they found, build, and finiſh &c.* So that, in ſtead of idolatrous *Temples*, built in the Ages preceding *Conſtantine*, during his reign and after, whilſt the *Romans* continued in any proſperous ſtate here, by erecting *Chriſtian Churches*, they began generally to neglect, and ſuffer fall to decay, rather then new build *Temples* to their *Pagan* Gods.

Theſe



Diameter of the outward Circle 100 feet.

Theſe preſſing occurrences therefore, to wit, civill broyls amongſt the *Romans* themſelves, frequent inſurrections of the *Britans*, daily inrodes by the *Picts* and *Scots*, together with the *downfall* of *Paganiſm*, *decay* of *Arts*, and fatall *ruine* of the whole *Empire*, making the times both long before and after *Conſtantine* incompatible for undertaking ſuch works as this *Antiquity*, it may ſafely enough be concluded, if *Stoneheng* not founded by *Agricola*, yet erected it might be about fifteen hundred and fifty years ago, in the times ſomewhat after his government, *the* Province *being formerly left by him in good and peaceable ſtate*, the *Britans* reduced from *Barbarity* to order and civill converſation, and the *Romans* flouriſhing in all manner of *Arts* and *Sciences*. *Tacit. in Vit. Agr.*

Now, concerning the uſe for which *Stoneheng* at firſt erected, I am clearly of opinion, it was originally a *Temple*, it being built with all accommodations properly belonging to a ſacred ſtructure. For, it had an intervall or ſpacious Court lying round about it, wherein the *Victimes* for oblation were ſlain, into which it was unlawfull for any profane perſon to enter: It was ſeparated from the circumadjacent Plain, with a large Trench in ſtead of a wall, as a boundary about the *Temple*, moſt conformable to the main work, wholly expoſed to open view: Without this Trench, the promiſcuous common multitude, with zeal too much, attended the *ceremonies* of their ſolemne though ſuperſtitious Sacrifices, and might ſee the oblations, but not come within them: It had likewiſe its peculiar *Cell*, with *Portico's* round about, into which *Cell*, as into their *Sanctum ſanctorum* (pardon the expreſſion) none but the *Prieſts* entred to offer Sacrifice, and make atonement for the *People*: Within the *Cell* an *Ara* or *Altar* was placed, having its proper poſition towards the *Eaſt*, as the *Romans* uſed. *Aræ ſpectent ad Orientem*, ſaith *Vitruvius*. And, that there hath been the heads of Bulls, or Oxen, of Harts, and other ſuch beaſts digged up, or in, or near this *Antiquity* (as divers now living can teſtifie) is not to be omitted; for who can imagine, but theſe were the heads of ſuch, as anciently there offered in Sacrifice? toge- *Vitr. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

ther with which alſo, were heaped up great quantities of Charcole, happily uſed about the performance of their ſuperſtitious ceremonies. That the ancient *Romans* had Charcole in uſe amongſt them, *Pliny* affirms. And when I cauſed the foundations of the ſtones to be ſearched, my ſelf found, and yet have by me to ſhew the cover of a *Thuribulum*, or ſome ſuch like vaſe (I ſuppoſe) wherein *Choul* in his diſcourſe of their Religion, reports the ancient *Romans* uſed to carry Incenſe, wine or holy water, for ſervice in their Sacrifices, lying about three foot within the ground, near one of the ſtones of the greater *Hexagon*.

Plin. lib. 16. Tom. 1. lib. 33. Tom. 2.

Roſin. lib. 3. Choul fol. 217, 229.

The *Order* whereof this *Temple* conſiſts, according to the rules of *Art* obſerved by the ancient *Romans* in works of this kinde, is mingled of *Greek* and *Tuſcane* work. For, as the plainneſſe and ſolidneſſe of the *Tuſcane Order*, appears eminently throughout the whole *Antiquity*: ſo the narrowneſſe of the ſpaces betwixt the ſtones, viſibly diſcovers therein, the delicacy of the *Corinthian Order*. Which commixture amongſt the *Roman Architects* was very uſuall, in regard *Vitruvius* (in his fourth Book and ſeventh Chapter) treating ſomwhat largely (this method otherwiſe conſidered) of ſeverall ſorts of the like compoſed *Temples*, mixt of the *Greek* and *Tuſcane* manners tels us: that, *Nonnulli de Tuſcanicis generibus ſummtes columnarum diſpoſitiones, transferunt in Corinthiorum & Ionicorum operum ordinationes. Some taking the qualities of the columns of the Tuſcane Order, tranſfer them into the ſymmetry of the Corinthian and Ionick works.* Whereby (to pleaſe themſelves it ſeems in their own inventions) *efficium Tuſcanicorum & Grecorum operum communem ratiocinationem. They make of the Tuſcane and Greek works one common compoſure.* As the ſame Author likewiſe remembers.

Vitr. lib. 4. cap. 7.

The *Aſpect* of this *Temple*; by which we underſtand that firſt ſhew which *Temples* make to thoſe that draw near unto them, is *Dipteros Hypæthros*, which is double winged about uncovered. *Dipteros circa ædem duplices habet columnarum ordines* (ſaith *Vitruvius*) *Dipteros hath double orders of columnes about the Temple. Hypæthros ſub divo eſt, ſine tecto*, (as the

Vitr. lib. 3. cap. 1.

ſame

ſame Author) *Hypæthros is open to the air, without a roof.*

The Manner of this *Temple* is *Pycnoſtylos*, or *narrow ſpaces*. *Pycnoſtylos* is that kinde of *Temples*, which hath the columnes ſet thick, and cloſe together *creberrimis columnis*, as *Vitruvius* alſo hath it. *Vitr. lib.3. cap.2.*

But it may be objected, though it appears from very good Authorities, the Artifice, and workmanſhip of this *Antiquity*, together with the *Scheam* which formed it, were *Roman*: and the *Order* of which conſiſting, invented in *Italy*, and ſo conſequently *Roman* in like manner: as alſo, by the ſeverall peculiar accommodations, the probable reliques of *Ethnetiſh* Sacrifices, and determinate rules of *Architecture*, it was anciently a *Temple*: Nevertheleſſe it appears not, the *Romans* ever uſed any whatever profane ſtructure like this, much leſſe any manner of *Temples* of this kinde of invention, *Where the Temple lies open without walls, ſurrounded only with pillars.* For, that the upright ſtones which make this work *Stoneheng*, are in ſtead of them, may well enough be granted.

To this I anſwer, the learned in *Antiquities* very well know, thoſe things which oblivion hath ſo long removed out of mind, are hardly to be diſcovered. Yet, as to the firſt part of the objection, that the *Romans* never uſed any whatever profane ſtructure like this, *Varro de re ruſtica* (as I find him cited by *Philander*) tels us, that they had in uſe amongſt them a round building without any wals, having a double *Order* of columns round about, this he cals by the name of *Tholus*, *ædificium rotundum, columnatum duplici columnarum ordine. A round edifice* (ſaith he) *environed about with a double order of columns.* Which double *Order* of *Columns* *Pyrrho Ligorio* a famous *Neapolitane Architect*, and great diſcoverer of *Antiquities*, in his deſcription thereof deſignes without a roof alſo. *Phil. in Vitr. lib.4.*

But to come to their ſacred works, which in regard of this *Antiquity*, are (it's true) of moſt concernment, I find the *Romans* uſed (as *Vitruvius* witneſſeth) ſuch manner of *Temples*. For (in his fourth Book, and ſeventh Chapter) he deli- *Vitr. lib.4. cap.7.*

delivers, there were amongſt others two forms of round *Temples*, commonly in uſe amongſt them, the one called *Monopteros*; the other *Peripteros*. This, had the *Cell* encloſed about with a continued wall, and at a proportionate diſtance from it, the columns placed which made a *Portico* round about it, clean different from *Stoneheng*: the other made open, and in ſtead of a wall encompaſſed with a row of pillars only, having no encloſed *Cell* within it at all, as much conducing to our purpoſe in hand. His words are theſe, *Fiunt autem ædes rotundæ, è quibus aliæ ſine cella columnatæ conſtituuntur. They make alſo* (ſaith he) *round Temples, of which ſome are built without a Cell, environed with Pillars only.* Theſe were without any wals, (as his Commenter hath it) lying open to the Air. And truly (as I may preſume to ſay) from this very manner the invention of *Stoneheng* was principally taken, in ordering whereof, the *Architect* diſdaining uſuall and common forms, of both the aforeſaid forms compoſed one. For, taking the outward circle from the *Monopteros*, he made it open alſo as in that, but in ſtead of the continued wall circularly encloſing the *Cell* of the *Peripteros*, at *Stoneheng* he made only an *Hexagon* about the *Cell*, leaving the ſame open in like manner. And, as *Hermogenes* (whom I ſhall have occaſion to remember again) to illuſtrate his work, leaving out the inner row of Pillars, made a ſingle *Portico* about the *Temple* at *Magneſia*, whereby it came to be a new invention, for which he is famous to poſterity: ſo the ſubtile *Architect*, whoſoever he was, to ennoble this his work, adding the ſaid *Hexagon* here, made a double *Portico* round about this *Temple*, and thereby a new invention likewiſe, no leſſe famous to ſucceeding Ages. Our *Antiquity Stoneheng* had otherwiſe been of the ſelf ſame *Aſpect* without a *Cell*, as *Vitruvius* hath before delivered. That *Temple Monopteros*, was environed with a row of pillars; this *Temple Stoneheng*, inſtead of them, ſupplied with a rank of pillaſters (as they may well be called) continuing round about it. That, lay open to the air without any walls: ſo doth this at *Stoneheng*. That, had over the pillars an *Architrave*, *Freeſe*, and *Cornice*,

Ædes ſacræ Templa dicta fuerunt, quòd eſſent quaſi ædes Deorum. Roſin. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Dan. Barbar.

Cornice, the *Order* being delicate: this at *Stoneheng*, over the pillaſters an *Architrave* only, as moſt conformable to the ſolidneſſe of the *Order* and plainneſſe of the work.

Thus it fully appears, the ancient *Romans* uſed to erect *Temples, which lay open without walls, ſurrounded only with pillars*; in invention like this at *Stoneheng*. But, let us ſee whether the form *Monopteros*, had any roof over it. That the *Romans* had *Temples* uncovered, and without roofs, like *Stoneheng*, is in part already, and ſhall more manifeſtly be hereafter proved: and ſearching curiouſly into their *Antiquities*, it will be found the greateſt, moſt ſplendid, and moſt magnificent work of all others, which the *Ancients* made for ſervice of their *Deities*, were thoſe kinde of *Temples* of the *Aſpect Hypæthros*. Whether the *Monopteros* was one of that kind, appears not yet, and *Vitruvius* is very obſcure therein; nevertheleſſe, that it was built without a roof, I ſhall illuſtrate by theſe reaſons.

Firſt, *Vitruvius* tels us not it had a roof; for, in his precepts of all ſeverall kinds of *Temples*, after he hath delivered the *Aſpect*, *Form*, and *Manner* of them with much exactneſſe, he omits not throughout his fourth Book to demonſtrate aſwell the contignation, as proportion of timbers of the roofs, belonging to all thoſe *Temples*, which had any, and when vaulted he gives us likewiſe the form thereof, if the *Temples* ſo covered: but, in the deſcription of the form *Monopteros*, there is no manner of timber work, nor form of vault, nor the leaſt word mentioned of any roof at all, in what place ſoever throughout his whole work ſpeaking thereof. In which reſpect, conſidering all *Temples* having roofs, thoſe roofs are deſcribed by *Vitruvius*, and that he deſcribes no roof belonging to this, it muſt neceſſarily follow, the *Temples* in form *Monopteros* had no roofs over them.

Again, after giving the proportion of the *Architrave* over the columnes of the *Monopteros*, he ſaith, *Zophorus & reliqua quæ inſuper imponuntur, ita uti in tertio volumine de ſymmetriis ſcripſit. The Freeſe and other ornaments laid upon them, are as in his*

his third Book of ſymmetries made mention of. Now, in his third Book, he only treats of proportions, and not one word is ſo much as mentioned by him of any manner of roofs at all, only in the cloſe of the ſaid Book, he gives the proportion of frontiſpices belonging to quadrangular *Temples*: the ſame referment in like manner he makes for the ornaments of the *Peripteros*, and withall proceeds to a full deſcription, in what manner the roof of its *Cell* was made, which queſtionleſſe, he would likewiſe have done in the other form, if it had been covered. For, he ſaith, whatever is to be laid above the *Freeſe* of the *Monopteros*, is, as ſet down in his third Book: but, in his third Book, there is not one word mentioned of any roofs; the concluſion then follows the *Monopteros* was without a roof.

Laſtly, he poſitively tels us it was *ſine Cella, without a Cell*: now the *Cell* (and which for diſtinction ſake I have ſo called in deſcribing this *Antiquity*, becauſe it was applied to the ſame uſe, to perform their ſacred rites in) was indeed properly, the inner, or chief part of the *Temple, quàm nos corpus Templi vulgò dicimus, we commonly call it the body of the Church*, which encloſed with wals, was covered with a roof, as *Vitruvius* declares in the form *Peripteros, tecti ratio ita habeatur &c. The manner of a roof* (ſaith he) *was thus &c.* But, the *Monopteros* was without a *Cell*, and conſequently without a roof alſo, as having no walls to bear it. For, in regard of the manner of the *Architecture*, the pillars ſtanding in *Iſland* (as we ſay) the work could not ſecurely bear a roof, if made of any great capacity: either therefore, they made *Temples* of this form very little (in which reſpect only, *Palladio* ſuppoſeth it might be vaulted) inconſiſtent with the *Roman* greatneſſe, or elſe, like *Stoneheng* they were wholly uncovered and roofleſſe. Howſoever, it is manifeſt, the *Aſpect* was juſt the ſame. And if I ſhould ſay, the ruines of one after the ſame form alſo, remains yet in *Oxfordſhire*, which the common people uſually call *Rolle-rich-ſtones*, take it but as my conjecture only, as likewiſe one or two built after the like manner in *Scotland*,

Bern. Baldo.

no

no man unleſſe *Hector Boetius* knowing by what Kings.

Moreover, the proportions appearing in this *Antiquity Stoneheng*, are much conformable to thoſe, aſſigned by *Vitruvius* to the parts of the *Monopteros*: He tels us, *Tribunal habent & aſcenſum ex ſuæ diametri tertia parte*: *they had the Tribunal*, (by which is underſtood that levell upon which the *Temple* placed) *and the aſcent, conſiſting of one third part of the Diameter*. So at *Stoneheng*, the work it ſelf is one *third part of the Diameter* of the circumvallation: And, acording to the proportion allowed by him to *the Aſcent*, it ſeems thoſe *Temples* were ſited more ſtately then others, (by conſequence great alſo) and certain it is, whoſoever views this *Antiquity* attentively with judgement, upon the place where remaining (for the *Folio* being too little I could not expreſſe it in Deſign) and doth allow a proportionate depth to the Trench ſurrounding it; conſidering alſo, together therewith, the levell of the plain lying without, he will then finde it ſtanding upon ſuch a riſing ground, that the *Aſcent* unto it, was not much leſſe magnificent, then what *Vitruvius* hath declared.

Furthermore, beſides the aforementioned round *Temples*, *Vitruvius* in the ſame Chapter tels us, that, *generibus aliis conſtituuntur ædes, ex iiſdem ſymmetriis ordinatæ, & alio genere diſpoſitiones habentes. The* Romans *built them after other manner of inventions, following the ſame proportions, and having their diſpoſures after another kinde.* Of which, if vouchſafed to poſterity the deſcriptions, ſome of them might have been found, not only agreeable in *Aſpect*, but happily of the very ſelf ſame form alſo, as this *Temple Stoneheng* doth appear.

Now conſidering this diſcourſe may happen into the hands of thoſe, who cannot by words ſo eaſily apprehend things of this *Art*, I have for their ſatisfaction brought into *Deſign*, the plants of both the aforeſaid *Temples* mentioned by *Vitruvius*, whereby their conformity with *Stoneheng*, and the invention thereof taken from them, is more clearly manifeſted.

A

The Plant of the *Monopteros*.

B

The *Order* of *Pillars* which continued round about it, to which the outward circle (of Pillaſters) in this *Antiquity Stoneheng*, directly correſponds, as will appear in the ſecond Figure thereof, formerly deſcribed by the Letter *I*.

The *Deſign* follows.

A
B

C

The Plant of the *Peripteros.*

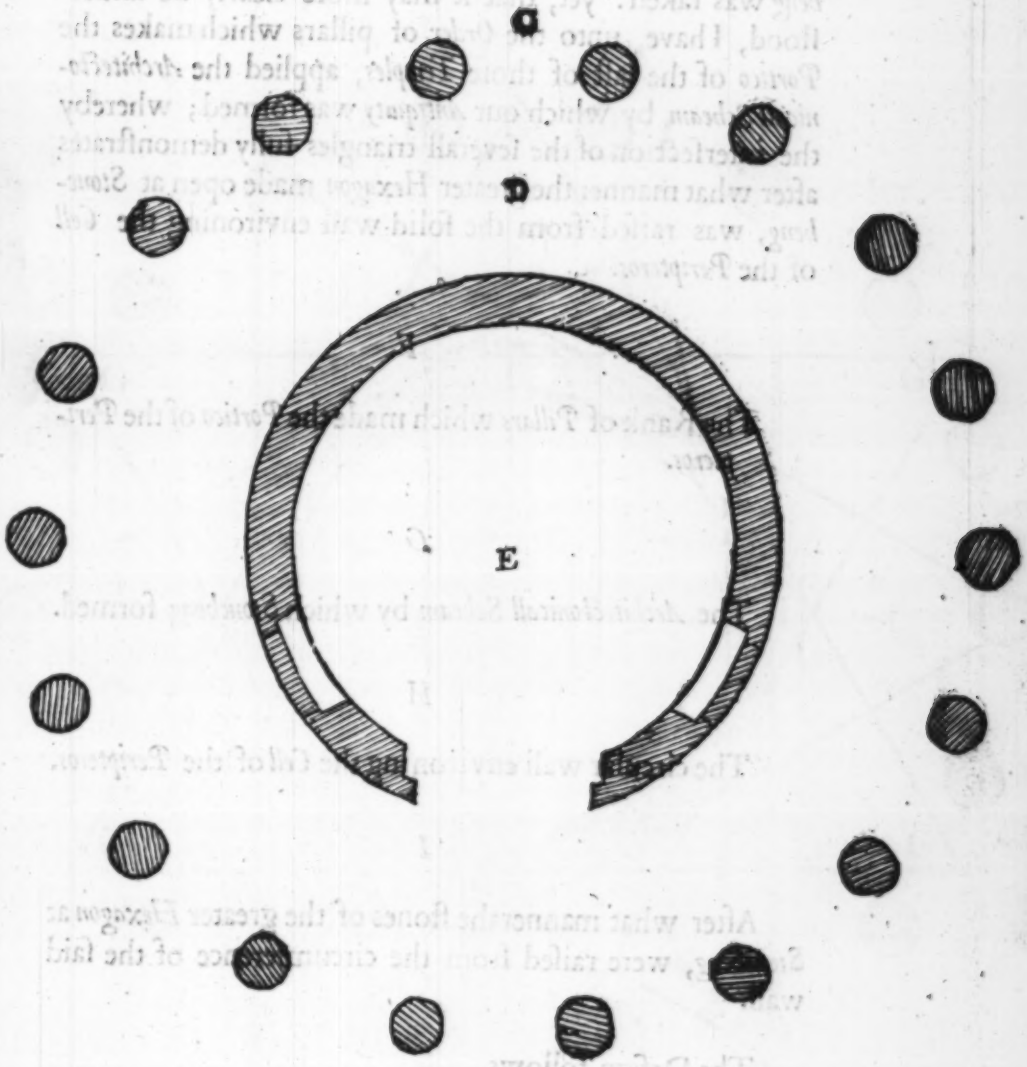
D

The *Portico* continuing about the *Cell.*

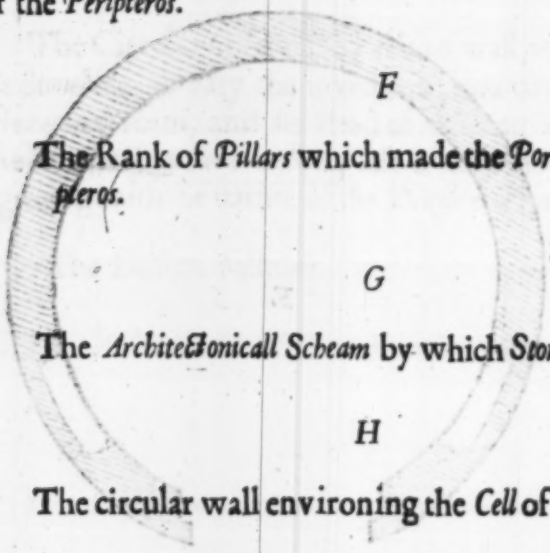
E

The Circular *Cell* encloſed with a wall, which in the *Temple Stoneheng*, to vary the invention, was converted into an *Hexagonall* form, and in ſtead of walling it round about, the *Architect* as ſaid before, left it wholly open, as moſt agreeing with the nature of the *Deity* to whom conſecrate.

The Deſign follows.


C
D
E

By the Plants of which ſaid *Roman Temples*, although it is plainly manifeſt, from whence the invention of *Stoneheng* was taken: yet, that it may more clearly be underſtood, I have, unto the *Order* of pillars which makes the *Portico* of the laſt of thoſe *Temples*, applied the *Architectonicall Scheam* by which our *Antiquity* was formed; whereby the interſection of the ſeverall triangles fully demonſtrates after what manner the greater *Hexagon* made open at *Stoneheng*, was raiſed from the ſolid wall environing the *Cell* of the *Peripteros*.



F

The Rank of *Pillars* which made the *Portico* of the *Peripteros*.

G

The *Architectonicall Scheam* by which *Stoneheng* formed.

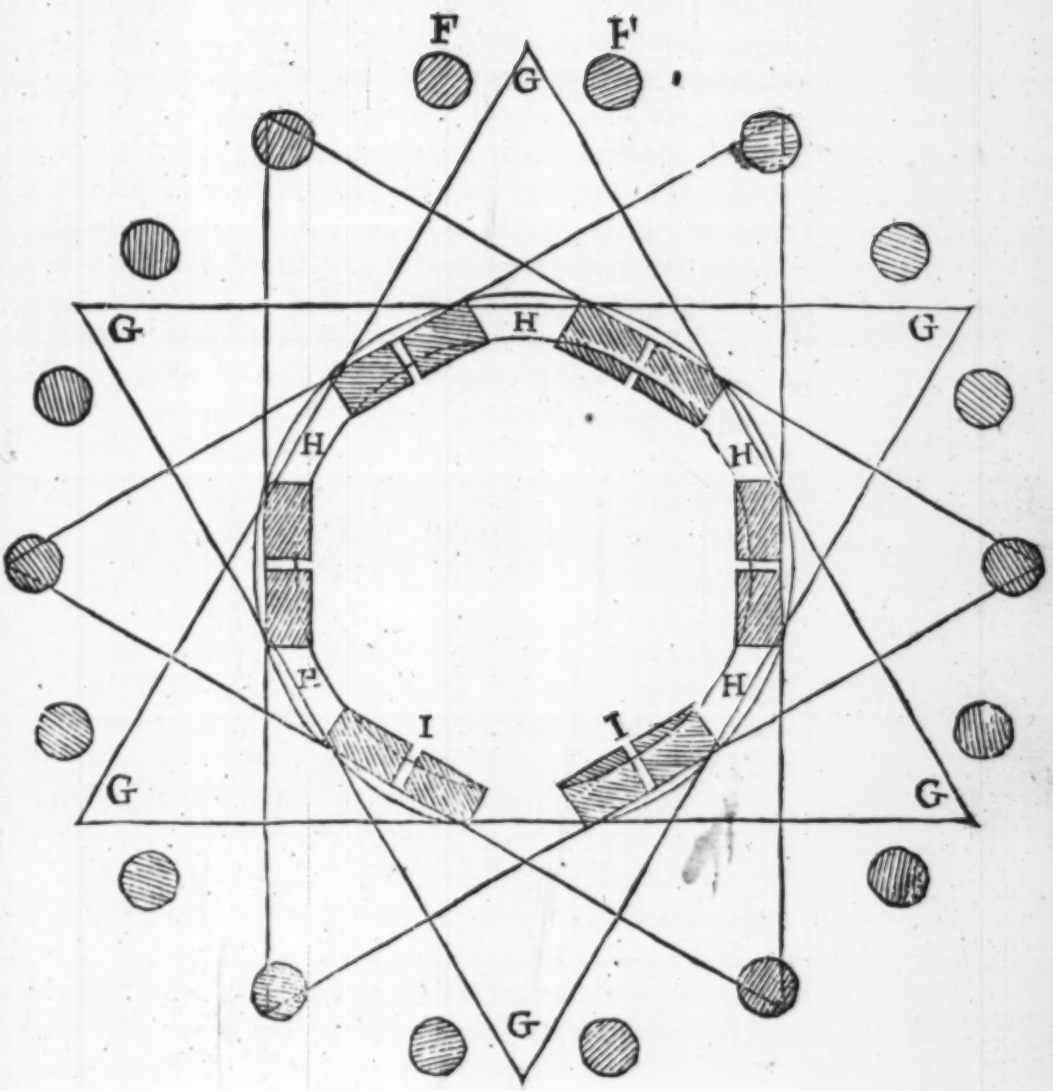
H

The circular wall environing the *Cell* of the *Peripteros*.

I

After what manner the ſtones of the greater *Hexagon* at *Stoneheng*, were raiſed from the circumference of the ſaid wall.

The Deſign follows.


F
F'
G
G
G
G
G
G
H
H
H
H
I
I

Stonehenge to Carnac

But, before deliver my judgment, unto which of their *Deities* this *Temple Stoneheng* was anciently dedicated by the *Romans*, I ſhall give you ſome cuſtoms in force amongſt the *Ancients*, relating the *Decorum* uſed by them, in building their particular *Temples*: whereby, thoſe ſeveral opinions ſeemingly concluſive to whom *Stoneheng* ſacred, may more evidently appear invalid, and my own more apparently probable. Thoſe therefore that endevour the ſearching out *Antiquities* of *Architecture*, muſt amongſt others, eſpecially preſcribe to themſelves five things to be guided by. *viz. The Situation, Aſpect, Manner, Form,* and *Order* of the work as in uſe amongſt the *Ancients*. For, inventing the ſeverall ornaments of *Architecture*, at firſt for honour and diſtinction onely of their *Deities*, they appropriated to each of them particular *ſituations*, preciſe *forms*, peculiar *Orders*, according to the ſeverall qualities, in regard whereof adored by them.

The *ſituation* of the *Temples* to *Venus*, *Mars*, *Vulcan*, they ordained to be choſen without their Cities, as thoſe which moved mens minds to laſciviouſneſſe, wars, and devaſtations. Within their Cities they placed the *Temples* of the Patrons of *Chaſtity*, *Peace*, good *Arts*: and of ſuch Gods alſo, to whom the Protection of their Cities committed. To *Pallas*, *Mercury*, and *Iſis* the chief Preſidents of Artificers, and Merchants, they built *Temples* near the Market places, or upon the Market places themſelves. To *Apollo* and *Bacchus* near the *Theater*. To *Hercules* near the Cirque or *Amphitheater*. Unto *Æſculapius* and *Salus*, in places moſt of all others healthfull, and near to pure ſtreams, and waters; becauſe the infirm people, coming out of a peſtilent and contagious *Aire*, to that which was good and healthfull, by drinking thoſe waters might the ſooner, and with leſſe difficulty be recovered, whereby zeal to thoſe ſuppoſed *Deities* encreaſed.

The *Aſpect Hypæthros*, mentioned before, of which *Stoneheng* appears built, was proper only to ſome of their Gods, as ſhall be remembred in due time: the other *five* (needleſſe here to name) were indifferently diſpoſed, ſometime

to one, and ſometime to another *Deity*, as the magnificence of the *Temples* to be built required, and, as to be made with *Portico's* or without.

The *Manner*, which *Vitruvius* diſtinguiſhes into five kinds; according as the intercolumnes are of five ſeverall proportions, was only ſo far forth peculiarly appropriated to their *Deities*, as it was agreeable to the proper *Order*, otherwiſe they followed the greatneſſe of the Work.

But, to each of them appropriating particular forms of *Temples*; to ſome of their Gods, they made them of a round form, to others quadrangular, to others of many angles: ſome of them having their *Temples* covered, with roofs over them; others again built uncovered, without any manner of roofs at all: As, our *Antiquity Stoneheng*.

Laſtly, the *Order* of which they built them, was ſo diligently obſerved, according to the peculiar qualities of their *Deities*, that ſeldom or never they varied: as in fit place I ſhall remember. Theſe aforeſaid rules alſo were ſo firmly obſerved by the *Ancients*, that even at firſt ſight the *Roman Architects* of old were able to judge, to what *Deity*, this, or that *Temple* ſacred: and the modern *Italian Architects*, by the ruines of them at this day, give ſuch notable teſtimonies towards the diſcovery of them, as are very hardly to be contradicted. Whoſoever deſires more of this, may read *Vitruvius*, *Leo Baptiſta Albertus*, and other Authors writing of *Architecture*. That then we may arrive to a degree of certainty unto whom our *Stoneheng* anciently dedicated; ſome ſuch *Deitie* of the *Romans* is to be found out, in whoſe honour they built *Temples*, not only in ſuch *ſituations* as this at *Stoneheng*; but with whoſe nature or quality the *Form* and *Aſpect* thereof may be agreeable alſo; and the *Order proper*. For, whoſoever goes about to enforce other reaſons, do as I conceive but beat the air, neither can they reduce this *Antiquity* to any probable Originall.

To which of the *Roman* Deities *Stoneheng* conſecrated, are, as I ſaid before, ſeverall opinions. Some preſume it ſacred to *Diana*, but upon what ground their conjecture is raiſed, conſi-

conſidering both the *Aſpect* and *Manner* of this *Temple* utterly different from thoſe the *Ancients* uſed to dedicate to Her, I cannot conceive; for, the *Manner* of the *Temples* erected to *Diana*, was *Diaſtylos*, i.e. *columnis amplius patentibus*, made with large and void ſpaces: the *Aſpect* of that at *Epheſus* was *Dipteros*; that at *Magneſia Pſeudodipteros*: which *Manner Hermogenes* inventing to ſave expence and labour, though he left out the *Order* of pillars within, and thereby the *Portico* came to be more large, yet the *Aſpect* continued ſtill the ſame. And, as in the *Aſpect* and *Manner*, ſo likewiſe in the *Order* and *Form* it's different: that, at *Epheſus* aforeſaid being of the *Ionick Order*, the *Order* peculiarly appropriated to *Diana*, and quadrangular: of the ſame *Form* alſo, was that at *Magneſia* aforeſaid, and ſo likewiſe the *Romans* built them, as by the now Church of S. *John* Evangeliſt at the *Latian*, or *Latine* Port, anciently the Temple of *Diana*; and that in Mount *Aventine* alſo, the chief of her *Temples* in *Rome*, fully appears. The *ſituation* of the Temples dedicated to her, was in groves, whence *Vitruvius* cals her grovy *Diana*.

Vitr. lib.3. cap.1 & 2.

Fab. Cal.

Vitr. lib.4. cap.7.

Ecce ſuburbanæ templum nemorale Dianæ, ſaith *Ovid*.
See where Diana's *grovy Temple ſtands.*

In which ſort *Virgil*, *Pliny*, and other Authors alſo tell us her Temples were always ſited. The *Architecture* therefore of the Temples to *Diana*, and this at *Stoneheng* being ſo far different, there is no probable reaſon *Stoneheng* ſhould be ſuppos'd dedicated to her.

Moreover, whether or no this opinion may be conſiſtent with any of thoſe qualities, the Ancients endowed this Goddeſſe with, let us examine further the Nature of the Deity it ſelf. Is *Stoneheng* conſecrated to *Diana* becauſe ſhe preſided over ways? what publick roads then, or common high-ways are to be read of, which anciently led over the Downs near this *Antiquity*? The moſt ancient ways we meet with, and which the *Romans* firſt made in this *Iſland*, as *Camden* ſets them down, are four, *Watling-ſtreet*,

Nat. Com. lib.3.cap.18.

Camden fo.64.

Ikemild-ſtreet, *Ermin-ſtreet*, and the *Foſſe*. *Watling-ſtreet* led through *Verolamium* directly as it were by a ſtreight line to the Weſt ſide of *Leiceſterſhire*, and from thence through the Northerly Counties into *Wales*. *Ikemild-ſtreet* began in the Countrey of the *Iceni*, tending Eaſtward. *Ermin-ſtreet* in the ſame quarter, running through *Cambridgeſhire*, *Huntingdonſhire*, and ſo on towards *Lincolnſhire* led the right way into the Northern Countreys on that ſide: (this ſtreet-way, happly, may be that which among the inhabitants paſſeth now by the name of *High Dike*.) The *Foſſe* paſſing through *Warwickſhire*, came down to *Stow* on the *Would*, thence to *Cirnceſter*, from *Cirnceſter* continuing on towards *Bath* and beyond it to *Somerton* into the Weſtern Provinces: the ridge whereof is yet to be ſeen in divers places of that tract. All of them lying ſo far from *Stoneheng*, that none of them are remembred to come nearer then *Cirnceſter* to any part of the Plains whereon it ſtands, and therefore in this reſpect there can be no cauſe to imagine this *Antiquity* ſhould be dedicated to her. Or, is *Stoneheng* ſacred to *Diana*, becauſe ſhe was the Patroneſſe of Gates? for which reaſon the Ancients built her Temples, either near to them within their Cities, or not far from them in the pleaſant ſuburbs. But what Cities, or places having any ſuch Gates, were ever found anciently ſo near *Stoneheng*, as might cauſe the dedication of ſo great a work to her? ſurely none. Or, is *Stoneheng* hallowed to *Diana* becauſe ſhe had the tutelage of Mountains? if ſo, then where are thoſe Mountains to be found near this *Antiquity* on *Salisbury* Plains? which Plains, North, South, Eaſt and Weſtward through the midſt of *Wiltſhire* are ſo open, that they terminate the Horizon. If any ſuch Mountains there, why do all Hiſtorians call them Plains? But admit Mountains ſomtimes on *Salisbury* Plain, what then became of them? were they removed by Earthquakes, ſwallowed into the ground by an *Hiatus* of the earth, or levell'd by inundations? then let it be made apparent when ſuch like accidents fell out. Or is *Stoneheng* dedicated to *Diana*, becauſe ſhe delighted to bath her ſelf in fountains and freſh

Camden fo. 527.

Ibid. fo. 366.

freſh ſprings? where are thoſe fountains and freſh ſprings to be found? haply, in the utmoſt borders they may be had, none certainly in the body of the Plains, or any thing near *Stoneheng*: ſpring veins being not there to be found, unleſſe by ſinking wells or pits very deep, which the inhabitants are enforced to make in ſeverall places for watering their ſheep, and as glad they are there, as the Patriarchs of old in the deſerts of *Canaan* to come by them. Or is *Stoneheng* ſacred to *Diana*, becauſe reputed Goddeſſe of hunting? then, who ever deſirous of a Temple for her, may finde it in *Daphne*, the anciently famous ſuburbs of *Antiochia*, where was not onely a Temple dedicated to her, but an *Aſylum* alſo, as *Strabo* witneſſeth: ſuch places only being held proper for her myſteries, where interven'd variety of pleaſures, goodly ſhadowy groves, delicate walks, and pleaſant ſprings of moſt cool and freſh waters. In the midſt of theſe delights the Ancients ſited her Temples, not in wilde Downs, or vaſt Plains, ſo wide and open that hardly ſee from one ſide of them to another, affording neither ſhelter for travellers againſt canicular heats, nor ſuccour for cattell againſt the boiſterous blaſts of bluſtering *Boreas*. Laſtly, is *Stoneheng* dedicated to *Diana*, becauſe the ſuppoſed guardian of woods? then remains it to be made apparent by them, thoſe Plains in ancient times bore another countenance then at preſent. That they were full of Forreſts, woods and groves, with variety of lawns, repleniſhed and ſtored with ſuch ſorts of game, and wilde beaſts in chaſe whereof *Diana* and her companions are ſaid to recreate themſelves: from whence ſome are of opinion ſhe was called *Diana*, as much to ſay *Deviana, quoniam venantes per devia & ſilvas deviare ſolent, captantes feras. Becauſe of huntſmens deviating, or wandring out of the way, through uncouth paths and woods in purſuit of their game.* That thoſe Plains afforded as much pleaſure and delights as the *Theſſalian Tempe*, the *Syrian Daphne*, or what place elſe as famous where her *Temples* anciently ſtood: and, in what unknown age they were diſafforreſted and laid waſt. Which, if ever ſo, certainly ſome ſigns thereof would remain,

Strab. li. 16.

Roſin. lib. 2. cap. 7.

main, or at leaſt be found there, as well as in other parts of the Iſland, in times paſt overgrown with woods. As in *Angleſey* formerly mentioned; in *Cheſhire*, where, in digging their marlepits are often found huge trees, demonſtrating to poſterity the forreſts there anciently growing; in the Iſle of *Axholm* in *Lincolnſhire*, where the inhabitants have hardly any fewell, but what ſuch trees afford ſo digged out of the earth; in *Somerſetſhire*, where I my ſelf have ſeen trunks of trees lying under ground, and expreſſing the places in times paſt overgrown with trees, very few or none being in thoſe places now ſtanding. Beſides, ſome remembrance of the aforeſaid forreſts and woods Hiſtory queſtionleſſe would yeeld; now what occaſion ſoever Hiſtorians take for mentioning this tract, not one word is delivered by them to that purpoſe, all unanimouſly conſenting 'twas never other then at preſent an open and champion Countrey. A Theater on which *Bellona* often diſplayed her bloody enſigns, and acted ſeverall tragedies in times of old: A field of *Mars*, where *Romans*, *Saxons*, and after *Danes* for obtaining the dominion of this Iſland decided their ambitious controverſies. Of which actions we have viſible teſtimony unto this day, witneſſe thoſe burrows, and places where they caſt the bodies of their ſlain, over all quarters of the plain diſperſed, which in long time are ſo ſhrowded by nature with ever growing graſſe, that their memory will remain by their ſepulchres to all poſterity; that which conſumes all works of Art, making them ſtill more freſh and flouriſhing: witneſſe ſpoils of war there frequently digged up, as formerly remembred: ſeverall encamping places of thoſe ſeverall Nations in all parts of the plain even yet appearing, no place in the whole Iſland, reſpecting the circuit, having more remains of them: Alſo that huge Trench, mentioned before by the name of *Wanſdike*, running through the very bowels of them, ſuch manner of trenches appearing no where in any part of *England* beſide, ſaving where the like plains interveen; ſo at *Newmarket Heath* the like trench vulgarly called *Devils Dike*, as if *made by Devils not by men*, is

to

to be ſeen; though in ancient times it was the limits of the Kingdome of the East *Angles*, and it took end, as *Camden* very well obſerves, *where the paſſages by reaſon of woods grew cumberſome*: Which, if the like be granted for *Wanſdike* (as is very probable, it ending alſo with the Plains) then without controverſie there were no more woods in times of old on *Salisbury* Plains then at this day, it running overthwart them, as in a direct line from East to Weſt. And who knows not, that other manner of fortifications then running trenches upon direct lines are to be caſt up for defence of woody ſituations? But why urge more Authorities, when the Inhabitants of the Countrey tell us, the ſoil or ground being hot, dry, and chalky is altogether improper for the growth of trees. Thus then the ſituation of the place, ſo antipathizing in all reſpects with the nature and qualities anciently attributed to *Diana*, and the *Manner*, *Form*, and *Order* of this *Antiquity*, ſo contrary to the cuſtome uſed by the *Ancients* in erecting her *Temples*, no reaſon wherefore this *Temple Stoneheng* ſhould be conceiv'd as erected for celebration of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies anciently aſcribed unto her *Worſhip*. *Camden fo.* 490.

Some, again, would have *Stoneheng* conſecrated to *Pan*; becauſe *Pan* a *Greek* word ſignifying the *Univerſe*, under him the whole frame of *Nature* was adored. And therefore, the *Ancients* made his ſtatues with horns, ſaith *Servius*, expreſſing thereby the beams of the *Sun*, and horns of the *Moon*; thoſe iſſuing from his forehead, and turning upwards towards *Heaven*, as *Boccace* will have it, ſignified the Celeſtiall bodies: feigning alſo, as the world moves with extraordinary ſwiftneſſe, he excelled likewiſe in ſpeed of running. By the purple, ruddy, and enflamed face, attributed to *Pan*, that pure fire, above all other *Elements* holding his place in the confines of the Celeſtiall Sphears was demonſtrated: by his large long beard deſcending down upon his breaſt, the two ſuperiour Elements *Aire* and *Fire* of a maſculine nature, ſending down their impreſſions upon the other two naturally feminine was ſhewed: by the ſpotted skin covering

ring his breaſt and ſhoulders, the eighth ſphear wholly embeliſhed with glorious ſtars; inveloping in like manner all appertaining to the nature of ſublunary creatures was repreſented: by the ſheep-hook which he held in one hand, Natures dominion over all things (according to *Boccace*) was ſignified: and as *Servius* ſaith, becauſe this ſtaffe, or rod was crooked, the year revolving into it ſelf, was thereby expreſſed: in the other hand holding a Pipe, conſiſting of ſeven reeds, whereby, the Celeſtiall harmony conceived by ſome to have ſeven ſounds, and ſeven different tunes, according to the number of the *Planets*, and their *Sphears* which are ſeven, was ſo ſet forth.

After this manner *Mythologiſts* diſcourſe of *Pan*, with various opinions, according to the ſubtile niceties of their ſeverall fancies: and in theſe reſpects as having relation to the *Heavens*, this *Antiquity Stoneheng* is imagined ſacred to *Him*. 'Tis true, if *Mythologie*, and not demonſtrative reaſons were to be fixt upon in matters of *Architecture*, the former conceptions might be ſome ground to frame conjectures *Stoneheng* ſacred to *Pan*. But, *Architecture* depending upon demonſtration, not fancy, the fictions of *Mythologiſts* are no further to be embraced, then as not impertinently conducing to prove reall truths. Wherefore, the aforeſaid ancient rules for building *Temples* conſidered, and comparing the *Order*, *Form*, *Aſpect* and *Situation* of the *Temples* to *Pan*, with the like in this *Antiquity*, ſo much contrariety is found betwixt them, as may convince any reaſonable judgement *Stoneheng* not dedicated to *Him*.

Nat. Com. lib. 5.

Pan paſtorum, venatorum, & univerſæ vitæ ruſticanæ præſidem crediderunt Antiqui, ſaith *Natalis Comes*. *Pan* was the reputed *God* amongſt the *Ancients*, *of Shepherds, Huntſmen, and all thoſe that led an agreſtick life*. The ſame Author alſo calling him *Piſcatorum Deum*, the *God of Fiſhermen* as well as *Shepherds*. *Arcadibus Deorum antiquiſsimus & honoratiſsimus eſt Pan*, ſaith *Dionyſius*. *Pan is the moſt ancient, and moſt honoured Deity of the Arcadians*. And in *Arcadia* it ſelf where he was principally adored, they built his *Temples* for the moſt part in Towns

Dion. Hall. lib. 1.
Roſin. lib. 2.

of

of the ſame *Form* and *Order* as to *Juno*: In the *Town* of *Heræa*, *habet Pan templum ſuum* (ſaith *Pauſanias* in his deſcription of *Arcadia*) *quod olim* Junoni *dicatum fuit*, Pan *had his Temple which anciently was dedicated to* Juno. Now, the *Order appropriated* to *Juno* by the *Romans*, was the *Ionick*, as is manifeſt from *Vitruvius*, who tels us, *To Juno, Diana, and Bacchus*, and to the other *Deities* of the ſame quality, *they built Temples of the Ionick Order*. The *Form* in like manner of her ſacred ſtructures was quadrangular, as in Mount *Aventine*, in *foro Olitorio* (or the herb Market) in Mount *Quirinal*, and elſwhere amongſt the *Romans* the *ruines* of her *Temples* do evidently witneſſe: as alſo, her *Temples* anciently at *Argos*, and amongſt the *Elians* in *Greece*, built of the like *Form*, and of the *Dorick Order*. But this *Antiquity* is of the ſevere *Tuſcane* work, and of a round figure. The *Temples* to *Pan* had a *Portico* onely in *front*, at *Stoneheng* it continues round about the *Cell*. The *Temples* to *Pan* were not expoſed to the open *Aire*, and built uncovered as *Stoneheng* was, but had roofs upon them. For, *Ignis ei perpetuus ardebat*, therein *they kept perpetuall fire*, as at *Acaceſium* a *Town* alſo of *Arcadians*; all *Temples* wherein they kept ſuch fires being covered, as the *Temple* to *Apollo* at *Delphos* amongſt the *Greeks*, and to *Veſta* at *Rome* amongſt the *Romans*. But, if at any time they did erect them diſtant from a *Town*, reſerving always the *Form* and *Order*, they choſe ſuch ſituations as wholly environed with trees; for example, the *Temple* to *Pan* in Mount *Lycæus*, was compaſſed in with a thick wood, *condenſo circumſeptum luco*, as *Pauſanias* hath it: ſo likewiſe, that *Temple* ſacred to *Him* in the *Parthenian* Forreſt, according to the ſaid Author. Now, this *Temple Stoneheng* is ſited in an open champion Countrey, where ſcarce a buſh or tree, much leſſe thick woods, or forreſts to be ſeen throughout the whole Plain; nor was there ever any in times of old as Hiſtory remembers, and the nature of the ſoil, as I am informed, is no wiſe proſperous for their growing there, as is ſufficiently before declared.

Pauſan. fo. 496.

Vitr. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Alexan. Don. Pomp. Totti.

Pauſan. fo. 114. & 317.

Ibid. fo. 516.

But *Pan* (ſay they) being the God of *Shepherds*, why might not *Stoneheng* to gratifie them be erected, and conſequently

by the *Romans* dedicated to their God *Pan*? no place in the whole Iſland more abounding with ſheep, then the circumadjacent Plains; the almoſt innumerable flocks whereof, not only moſt plentifully ſatisfying the bordering inhabitants for food; but, from their delicate fleeces, a great part of the known univerſe are clad alſo. I anſwer, amongſt the *Romans* (declared at large before to be *Founders* of *Stoneheng*) I do not finde any one *Temple*, *Holy House*, *Sanctuary*, *Grove*, *Altar*, or any ſuch like ſacred ſtructure conſecrated to *Pan* in their own Country; much leſſe any *Temple* dedicated unto Him by them in *Britain*: and therefore, utterly improbable this *Temple Stoneheng* ſhould be erected by the *Romans* unto *Pan*.

Dion. Hal. lib. 1. *Roſin. lib.* 2. *cap.* 20.

There was a *Temple* indeed, built to *Pan Lycæus* on Mount *Palatine*, by thoſe *Arcadians* which accompanied *Evander* into *Italy*; in which, though the *Romans* in ſucceeding times performed the ſame rites, as the *Arcadians* anciently had inſtituted; yet, *He* paſſed with the *Romans* under the name of *Lupercus*, and in honour of *Him*, as ſome Authors of opinion, certain feſtivals or games called *Lupercalia*, at *Rome* onely, not in Provinces conquered by them, were ſolemnized by the *Romans*; Noblemens ſons running in thoſe games, according to the primitive inſtitution ſetting forth and beginning their courſe at Mount *Palatine*, and ſo round about the City to the ſame place again. I may not omit, nevertheleſſe, that ſeverall Authors deliver the *Lupercalia* were inſtituted in thankfulneſſe to *Lupa*, or the wolf that gave *Romulus* ſuck, and the courſe of thoſe games beginning at Mount *Palatine* (not ſo much in remembrance it ſeems of *Pans* Temple there, as) from the *Lupercal* or *the very place they ſay where* Romulus *was caſt out.*

Iuſtin. lib. 43.

Plutarch. in Rom.

Roſin. lib. 3. *cap.* 2.

Plut. in Rom.

Dion. lib. 1.

Dionyſius of *Halicarnaſſus* tels us the *Arcadians* built the aforeſaid *Temple* to *Pan*, *idoneo invento loco &c.* when they had found out a *convenient place* for it adjoyning to their habitations: the condition or nature of which place is not unworthy your obſervation; for by his deſcription thereof

we

we ſhall eaſily perceive what manner of ſituation was by the *Arcadian* Shepherds held proper for performing the ceremonies of their God *Pan*. His words are, *Erat tum, ut fertur, ſpelunca ſub tumulo magna, denſo querceto contecta, & ſub petris profundi fonticuli, ſolumque rupibus contiguum nemoroſum, & frequentibus ac proceris opacum arboribus: ibi ara deo extructa, more patrio ſacra fecerunt. Under the Hill* (to wit, Mount *Palatine*) *was anciently, as report goes* (ſaith he) *a great cave or den, covered over by a thick grove, deep wells or riverets running amongſt the ſtones of the cave, and round about it a wood, by the many and tall trees growing therein very dark and obſcure: there the Altar of the God was placed, and his Sacrifices after their Country manner performed.* Now is *Stoneheng* thus ſited, or was there ever any ſuch like place near this *Antiquity*? of all the places in *England* that I know, none comes nearer that cave, then *Ochy-hole* in *Somerſetſhire*: And if the Ancients held ſuch diſmall ſituations only proper for *Pans Temples*, then without peradventure *Stoneheng* was never erected in honour of him, they being no innovators in their ſuperſtitions.

A further obſervation may be made to our purpoſe, upon the aforeſaid deſcription, *Erat tum antrum magnum, it was anciently* (ſaith *Dionyſius*) *a great cave*. But in his own time, which was under *Auguſtus*, the *Romans* had ſo choked up the place with building, that the manner how *Pans Temple* in old time ſtood, was hardly to be diſcovered: *nunc quidem ædificiis* (ſaith he) *fanum circumquaque ſepientibus, difficilis conjectura eſt qualis olim loci natura fuerit. At this preſent, verily, the Temple being every way environed with buildings, it is hardly to be conjectured in what manner of place it anciently ſtood.* This was the cauſe which enforced him to deliver to poſterity the former deſcription meerly upon report. Certainly then, the *Romans* employing the place to profaner uſes, *Pans* Deity was little eſteemed by them; otherwiſe, they would never have polluted it, by ſetting up private houſes upon the place conſecrated to him. Now the *Romans* ſlighting him after this manner at home, little reaſon appears ſo magnificent a ſtructure as *Stoneheng*, ſhould be *Dion. lib. 1.*

erected by them for adoration of *Pan* in other Countreys.

Furthermore, the Sacrifices in times of old offered to *Pan* were milk and honey, offered up in ſimple Shepherds crocks or earthen pitchers: *quare non ritè ſacrificabant, qui tauros illi immolabant, aut qui in aureis poculis lac aut vinum offerebant &c.* *Wherefore, they ſacrificed not aright,* ſaith *Natalis Comes,* *who immolated Buls or Oxen unto him, or out of golden cups poured forth milk or wine upon his Altars*; for goblets of that metall were proper onely for the ſupernall and celeſtiall *Deities*, not to terreſtriall, and ſuch as had care of Heardſmen or Shepherd Swains. To which purpoſe alſo, the ſame Author out of *Apollonius Smyrnæus* remembers *Pan*, thus ſpeaking of himſelf.

Nat. Com. lib. 5.

Sum Deus agreſtis, cur his ſunt aurea ſacris
Pocula? quò vinum funditis Italicum?
Ad petram cur ſtat taurus cervice ligatus?
Parcite: non hæc eſt victima grata mihi.
Pan montanus ego ſum, ligneus, ipſáque veſtis
Pellicea eſt: muſtum è fictilibúſque bibo.

In Engliſh thus:

A rurall God am I, in golden cup
The Falern wine, why then d'yee offer up?
Why at mine Altar, ſtands the ſtern Bull bound,
Or Oxe that's fat, with laurell girland crown'd?
Spare ye ſuch coſt: no grateſull victimes theſe
Are unto me, others leſſe coſtly pleaſe.
A Mountaineer, a wood-man clad in skin
Am I: your wine in earthen veſſels bring.

But the Sacrifices anciently offered at *Stoneheng* (already remembred) were *Buls* or *Oxen*, and ſeverall ſorts of beaſts, as appears by the heads of divers kinds of them, not many years ſince there digged up.

As for that of the *Pantheon*, it is very well known the *Ancients* ſo called it, not in any relation to *Pan*, but becauſe it was ſacred to *Jove* the *Revenger*, and according to others to *Cibele*,

Cibele, and all Gods. For which reason, *Boniface* the fourth obtained licence from the Emperour *Phocas*, to consecrate it to the *Virgin Mary*, and all Saints. And who knows not the *Architecture* thereof wholly different from this of *Stoneheng*? The *Pantheon* hath its *Cell* enclosed with a continued solid wall, and the *Portico* only in front, of the delicate *Corinthian Order*; of which *Order* the inner part consisted likewise, being vaulted in most admirable and magnificent manner. From whence *Dion Cassius* delivers his opinion, *inde id nominis habere, quòd forma convexa fastigiatum, cœli similitudinem ostenderet, it to be called the* Pantheon, *because by the form of that vault wherewith covered, it represented the concave of Heaven*, or (as others will) the figure of the world; for the world being mans house, the firmament is as the vaulted roof thereof. At the crown of the vault it had an opening, by which only it received light and air. But, this *Antiquity Stoneheng* built of a grave and humble *Order* (as is said before) had a double *Portico* continuing round about it, the *Cell* thereof free and open, and every way exposed to the air, received light from all parts.

Platin. in Bon.

Dion. lib. 53.

Wherefore leaving these, *Stoneheng* was dedicated, as I conceive, to the God *Cœlus*, by some Authors called *Celum*, by others *Uranus*, from whom the Ancients imagined all things took their beginning. My reasons are, First, in respect of the *situation* thereof; for it stands in a Plain, remote from any *Town* or *Village*, in a free and open air, without any groves or woods about it.

Secondly, in regard of the *Aspect*; for *Stoneheng* was never covered, but built without a roof. Which *Decorum* the *Romans* ever observed, both in the *Situation* and *Aspect* of the *Temples* dedicated to this their God, and to *Jove* the *Lightner*, the *Sun*, and the *Moon*. *Jovi fulguratori, & Cœlo, & Soli, & Lunæ, ædificia sub dio Hypæthráque constituuntur*. To Jove *the Lightner*, *and to Cœlus*, *and to the Sun*, *and to the Moon*, *they erected buildings in the open air and uncovered*, saith *Vitruvius* in the second Chapter of his first Book. Take with you also his reason. *Horum enim Deorum & species & effectus in aperto mundo atque lucenti*

Vitr. li. 1. cap. 2.

præ-

præſentes videmus, becauſe both the forms and effects of theſe Deities, we behold preſent before our eyes, in a clear and open view. Another reaſon I find alſo why they built their Temples to *Cœlus*, and thoſe other Deities uncovered as *Stoneheng*: becauſe they counted it an hainous matter to ſee thoſe Gods confined under a roof, whoſe doing good conſiſted in being abroad.

Godw. Antiq. l.1. cap. 20.

Thirdly, in regard of the *Form* of *Stoneheng*, which is *circular*. This figure was proper to the *Temples* of *Cœlus* and *Tellus*, whom the Ancients called *Veſta*, as *Valerianus* (in his *Hieroglyphicks*) affirms. *Non ſolamente la palla, ma una ſimplice piegatura di ruota, appreſſo gli Egizziani demoſtrava il Cielo. Not only* (ſaith he) *the circular form, but the meer ſegment of a circle amongſt the Egyptians was an Hieroglyphick of Cœlus.* And to this purpoſe alſo, *Leo Baptiſta Albertus* uſeth theſe words. *Ædem Veſtæ, quam eſſe terram putarent, rotundam ad pilæ ſimilitudinem, faciebant. Unto Veſta, whom they reputed to be the Earth, they built Temples of a round form globelike.* Beſides, obſerve what *Philander* commenting on *Vitruvius* tels us. *Templorum quanquam alia fiant quadrata, alia multorum angulorum, Cœli naturam imitati veteres, imprimis rotundis ſunt delectati: Although* (ſaith he) *the Ancients made ſome Temples ſquare, ſome of ſix ſides, others of many angles, they were eſpecially delighted with making of them round, as repreſenting thereby the Form or Figure of* Cœlum, *Heaven.*

Pier. Valer. Hier. lib. 39.

Leo Bapt. Alb. lib. 7.

Philand. in 4. lib. Vitr. cap. 7.

Fourthly, in reſpect of the *Order* whereof *Stoneheng* built. The ſeverity of this *Tuſcane* work, retaining in it a ſhew (as it were) of that firſt face of *Antiquity* (as *A. Palladio* terms it) being moſt agreeable to the nature of this their God, reputed the ancienteſt of all their *Deities*, and Father of *Saturn*. For, it was the cuſtome of the Ancients (as in part I remembred before) to appropriate the ſeverall *Orders* of *Architecture*, according to the particular qualifications of thoſe they deified. *Minervæ, & Marti, & Herculi, ædes Doricæ fient: his enim diis propter virtutem, ſine deliciis ædificia conſtitui decet. To Minerva, and Mars, and Hercules, Temples of the Dorick Order were made; for, to theſe Deities in reſpect of their valiant actions, it*

An. Pal. li. 1.

Vitr. lib. 1. cap. 2.

was

was requiſite to build without delicacy. Veneri, Floræ, Proſerpinæ, Fontium Nymphis, Corinthio genere conſtituta, aptas videbuntur habere proprietates, quòd his diis propter teneritatem, graciliora & florida, foliiſque & volutis ornata opera facta augere videbuntur juſtum decorem. To Venus, Flora, Proſerpina, the Fountain Nymphs, the Corinthian Order was thought moſt proper: becauſe unto theſe in regard of their tender natures, the work ſeemed to advance a juſt decorum, when made delicate and flouriſhing, and adorned with leaves and volutes. Junoni, Dianæ, Libero Patri cæteriſque diis qui eadem ſunt ſimilitudine, ſi ædes Ionicæ conſtruerentur, habita erat ratio mediocritatis, quod & ab ſevero more Doricorum, & à teneritate Corinthiorum, temperabitur earum inſtitutio proprietatis. To Juno, Diana, Bacchus, and to the other Deities of the ſame quality, building Temples of the Ionick Order, they had regard unto the mean, that from the ſevere manner of the Dorick, and delicacy of the Corinthian, the condition of their indowments might be duly moderated, ſaith *Vitruvius.* To *Jupiter, Sol,* and *Luna,* though they made Temples *ſub divo* open to the air and without roofs like this *Antiquity*; yet were they not built of ſevere and humble but moſt delicate *Orders,* and accordingly were adorned with coſtly ornaments, and beautified with various enrichments in ſeverall ſorts of ſculpture, as by the ruines of them in divers parts of *Italy* remaining to this day, evidently appears. Reſpecting therefore, this *Decorum* uſed by the *Ancients* in building their *Temples,* and that this work *Stoneheng* is principally compoſed of a moſt grave *Tuſcane* manner, by juſt proportions of an agreeable form; it is in mine opinion, as I ſaid before, moſt agreeable to the quality and condition of that ancient *Cœlus,* whom Antiquity reputed the very ſtem whence all thoſe Deities in the ſucceeding Ages proceeded. Cœlus *ex eadem conjuge (ſcilicet Tellure) procreavit* Oceanum, Cœlum, Hyperionem *&c. & noviſſimum omnium* Saturnum *ſuſcepit.* Cœlus, *by the ſame wife* (to wit *Tellus*) *had* Oceanus, Cœlum, Hyperion *&c. and laſt of all begat* Saturn. To which purpoſe alſo *Lactantius, I finde* Uranius *by his wife* Veſta *had* Saturn *and* Ops: Saturn *attaining the government, called his father* Uranius, Cœlus, *and his mother* Terra; *that by this change of names,* *Apollod. lib. 1.*

he

he might the more magnifie the ſplendor of his originall &c. Further, I conceive it will not be impertinent to our purpoſe in hand, to deliver what the *Ancients* have reported of *Cœlus*; and wherefore they aſcribed divine Honours untō Him.

According to the *Poets*, *Cœlus* was not that huge machine adorned with ſtars, which *Orpheus* ſaith was compoſed for habitation of the *Planets*, and other *Deities*, and which we behold moving with continuall revolution: but a certain man ſo called, ſon to *Æther* and *Dies*, that, is *della virtù ardente, & della luce famoſa, of tranſcendent influence and reſplendent brightneſs*, as *Boccace* hath it.

Boccace lib.3.

By Hiſtorians, eſpecially *Diodorus Siculus*, it's thus delivered. *Scribunt primùm regnaſſe apud Atlantides* Cœlum: *Hominéſque antea per agros diſperſos, ad cœtum, condendáſque urbes exhortatum, à fera eos agreſtíque vita ad mitiorem cultum extitiſſe &c. They write, he which firſt reigned over the* Atlantides *was* Cœlus, *and that he invited men living diſperſedly before throughout the fields, to convene, and dwell in companies together, exborting them to build Towns, and reducing them from wild and ſavage to the converſation of civill life: Taught them alſo to ſow corn and ſeeds, and divers other things belonging to the common uſe of mankind; Ruled likewiſe over a great part of the world from Eaſt to Weſt; Was a diligent obſerver of the ſtars, and foretold men divers things to come: The year (before confus'd) bringing into Order, according to the courſe of the Sun, reducing it alſo into moneths after the Moons courſe, and appointing likewiſe the ſeverall ſeaſons of the year. Whereby many ignorant of the perpetuall courſe of the ſtars, and amazed at his future predictions, did verily believe he participated of Divine Nature, and therefore after his death, as well for benefits received from him, as great knowledge of the ſtars, they conferred on him immortall honours, and adored him as a God. And, as appears, called* Cœlus *in regard of his skill in the celeſtiall bodies, as alſo, for divers other cauſes eternall King of all the world.* Thus *Diodorus*. It being an ordinary cuſtome among the Heathens to deifie, and eſteem for Gods, ſuch excellent perſonages, as either had well ruled, or governed them, or done any notable thing among them

Diodor. lib.4.

Stonehenge.

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them to their eſpeciall benefit, or good liking. Such, were they men, or women, remained with the name, reputation, and reverence of *Gods* or *Goddeſſes* after their deaths.

Furthermore, according to the *Philoſophers*; *Men* (they knew not how) by nature ſoon wanting, and by inſtinct as ſoon ſeeking ſome God (in ſtead of apprehending better) deified the *beſt* to ſenſe. Whereupon, out of all *Entities* as moſt glorious to the eye, they firſt made choice of *Heaven*, and *Heavenly* bodies; conſidering again, as the moſt beneficiall objects, thoſe living creatures, and fruits which the *Earth* beneath brought forth, to make compleat generations, they coupled *Cœlus* to *Tellus*, adoring *Heaven* as Father, and *Earth* as Mother to theſe; the pouring down of ſhowers from *Heaven* ſeeming in ſtead of naturall ſeeds, and the *Earth* as a Mother to conceive, and bring forth the ſame. *Plut. Phil. opin. lib. 1.*

Fifthly, the Sacrifices in times of old offered to *Cœlus* were Bulls or Oxen, their great God *Jupiter* himſelf, as I find in *Roſinus*, offering ſuch Victimes unto him. *Ante pugnam, quæ cum Gigantibus in* Creta *habita eſt,* Jovem *ſacrificaſſe dicunt* Soli, Cœlo, *ac* Terræ *bovem. Before the battell ſtruck with the Giants in* Crete, *they ſay* Jupiter *ſacrificed an Oxe to* Sol, Cœlus, *and* Terra. Now that there hath oftentimes been digged out of the ground at *Stoneheng*, the heads of ſuch beaſts, in all probability anciently in that place ſacrificed; I need not again remember, being it is ſo well known. *Roſin. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

Sixthly, all the upright ſtones in this *Antiquity* are *Pyramidall* like flames, in imitation of thoſe *Ætheriall* fires, wherewith the *Heaven* is adorned. Now, that *Fire* hath the form of a *Pyramis* is evident, *percioche, eſſendo largo da baſſo, intorno alla materia & eſca, da che ſi paſce, finiſce in acuta fiamma che riguardo al Cielo. Becauſe, being large at the bottome, in reſpect of the matter and fewell, by which it is fed, it finiſhes in an acute flame tending upwards towards Heaven.* And, that the Heavens are adorned with fires, *Natalis Comes* in his Mythology, out of *Orpheus*, makes apparent. *Nihil aliud eſſe Cœlum exiſtimans, niſi* *Pier. Valer. Hier. lib. 60.*

hunc æthera qui constat ex altißimis illis ignibus. Supposing the Heaven to be no other thing, but this Air which consisteth of those transcendent Fires.

Lastly, that *Stoneheng* was anciently dedicated to *Cœlus* I collect from the *Conformation* of the work. For the *conformation* of the *Cell* and *Porticus* in the Plant, was designed with four equilaterall *Triangles*, inscribed in a *Circle*, such as the *Astrologers* use in describing the twelve *celestiall* signs in musicall proportions. According to that of *Vitruvius*; *In ea conformatione quatuor scribantur trigona paribus lateribus & intervallis, quæ extremam lineam circinationis tangant; In the conformation thereof, let four triangles be inscribed of equall sides and intervals, which may touch the extreme part of the circumference: quibus etiam in duodecim signorum cœlestium descriptione, Astrologi ex musica convenientia astrorum ratiocinantur; by which figures also, Astrologers from the musicall harmony of the stars ground their reasonings, as concerning the description of the twelve celestiall signs.* Besides the *Cell* it self in the formation thereof, is cast into an *Exagon*, one of the three figures, likewise used by *Astrologers* in their aforesaid arguments of the *sympathy* of the stars. *Figuris tribus* (saith *Philander*) *utuntur Astrologi, Trigono, Tetragono & Hexagono. The Astrologers make use of three sorts of figures; the Triangle, Tetragon, and Hexagon.* Furthermore, the three entrances leading into the Temple from the Plain, were comparted by an equilaterall *triangle*; which was the figure whereby the Ancients expressed what appertained to *Heaven*, and divine mysteries also. *Aggiungono i Magi* (saith *Pierius Valerianus*) *che un triangolo semplice di lati uguali, è indizio di divinità, overo effigie di cose celesti. The* Magi *adde that a triangle of equall sides is a symbole of Divinity, or sign of celestiall matters.* Now this *Antiquity* consisting of severall stones, orderly disposed into one entire work, in imitation, as it were, of those severall stars which appearing to us in the Heavens in form of a circle, are called the *celestiall Crown*; and wholly designed by those *Scheams* wherewith *Astrologers* use to describe *celestiall* bodies; which figures, usually applied by them to particular accidents onely, being all joyntly made

Vitr. lib. 5.

Pier. Valer. Hier. lib. 39.

made uſe of by the *Architect* for conformation of this ſacred ſtructure, it is not improbable *Stoneheng* was ſo compoſed, becauſe dedicated to *Cœlum*. Yea further, (if lawfull to compare an idolatrous place with ſo divine a work) was not the *Temple* at *Hieruſalem* adorned with the figures of *Cherubims*, that thereby the Nations of the Earth might know it was the habitation of the living God? and, why not in like manner this *Temple* compoſed by *Aſtrologicall* figures, that after Ages might apprehend, it was anciently conſecrated to *Cœlus* or *Cœlum* Heaven?

But in this conjuncture; concerning ſuch kinde of *Temples* as this at *Stoneheng*, what ſaith the learned *Patriarch* of *Aquileia*? *Io credo, che quel Tempio ſenza parete ſignificava alcune coſe del Cielo. gli effetti delle quali ſono nello ſcoperto. I beleeve that Temple without walls* (ſpeaking of the *Monopteros* aforeſaid) *had a relation to* Cœlum (*Heaven*) *becauſe the effects thereof are openly diſplaied to the full view of all men.* *Dan. Barbar. in lib. 4. Vitr. cap. 7. in Ven. 1584.*

Camden tels us he had heard, that in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, a table of metall was found, not far from this *Antiquity*, engraven with divers ſtrange characters, which being not legible, was neglected and loſt: had, indeed, that Table been found within the work it ſelf it might happily have brought to light ſomwhat in relation to *Stoneheng*. And by all likelihood, in time ſome inſcriptions may therein be found, it being the cuſtome as well of *Greeks* as *Romans*, in times of greateſt *Antiquity*, to lay inſcriptions (uſually) under the firſt ſtones ſet in what works ſoever; eſpecially, thoſe of any great magnificence. Wherefore I adviſe mine honoured Friend *Laurence Waſhington* Eſquire in whoſe demeaſnes this *Antiquity* ſtands, to whom I am much obliged, for his friendly notice of what things have been there of late years digged up, that he would be ſolicitous upon any ſearch made there, to enquire after them, and if any found not to neglect, or curiouſly conceal them, but preſerve and willingly produce the ſame.

* See page 71

I ſuppoſe, I have now proved from Authentick Authors, and the rules of Art, *Stoneheng* anciently a *Temple*, dedicated

to *Galus*, buile by the *Romans*; either in, or not long after those times (by all likelihood) when the *Roman* Eagles spreading their commanding wings over this *Island*, the more to civilize the Natives, introduc'd the *Art* of Building amongst them, discovering their ambitious desire, by stupendious and prodigious works, to eternize the memory of their high minds to succeeding Ages. For, the magnificence of that stately *Empire*, is at this day clearly visible in nothing more, then in the ruines of their *Temples*, *Palaces*, *Arch's Triumphals*, *Aquæducts*, *Thermæ*, *Theaters*, *Amphitheaters*, *Cirques*, and other secular, and sacred structures.

History affords only *Contemplation*, whereby their great Actions are made conceivable alone to reasoning: but the ruines of their buildings *Demonstration*, which obvious to sense, are even yet as so many eye-witnesses of their admir'd atchievements.

Roma *quanta fuit, ipsa ruina docet,*
How great Rome *was, her ruines yet declare.*

Opinions fancied to the contrary, I have rendred improbable, the Authors of them in respect of this *Antiquity* being not only modern; but also, what said by them *Romance*-like hatched out of their own brains, even as other fables invented by them, touching the *Britains* of old. Men possest nevertheless, with a former conceit of things, endure not by any means new opinions, having not commonly patience to search long after the truth thereof. To them, ever the more generally received, the truer things seem, accounting all of their own time despicable; insomuch, as some are so far in love with vulgarly receiv'd reports, that it must be taken for truth, whatsoever related by them, though nor head, nor tail, nor foot, nor footstep in it oftentimes of reason or common sense. They that beleeve *Geffrey Monmouths ipse dixit*, may make themselves merry therewith; in pleasing their own fancy, they displease not mine. As I have delivered my own judgement freely, all reason they should

Camd. fo. 8.

ſhould enjoy theirs. But ſuch as ſail in the vaſt Ocean of time, amongſt the craggy rocks of *Antiquity*, ſteering their courſe, betwixt anciently approved cuſtoms, and convincing arguments, guided by good Authority, and ſound judgement, arrive much ſafer, and with better repute, in the ſecure Haven of undoubted *Truth*. For mine own part, I had rather erre happily with venerable *Antiquity*, then ſo much as trouble my thoughts with modern conceits. Whether, in this adventure, I have wafted my Barque into the wiſhed *Port* of *Truths* diſcovery concerning *Stoneheng*, I leave to the judgement of skilfull *Pilots*. I have endevoured, at leaſt, to give life to the attempt, trending perhaps, to ſuch a degree, as either may invite others to undertake the Voyage anew, or proſecute the ſame in more ample manner, in which, I with them their deſired ſucceſſe, and that with proſperous gales they may make a more full and certain diſcovery.

FINIS.

Errata.

Folio 10. line 6. Theſe words,
[*The* Romans *overthrew not the Temples, or razed to the Foundations, any of the ſacred ſtructures of the* Druid's *and* Britans *made of ſtone, or other materials, which he might as readily have done, if they had uſed any ſuch: but poſitively,*] ſhould have been printed in the ordinary letter.

Fo.	Line	Read
18	22	was
28	4	*Cappa*
38	19	*Mercians*
49	37	ſtreit
50	1	ſtreit
80	23	the roofe